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THE
ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

FROM 1859 TO 1868.

VOL. I.



THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

FROM 1859 TO 1868:

*THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF ADMINISTRATION UNDER
THE CROWN.*

BY

ILTUDUS THOMAS PRICHARD,

(GRAY'S INN,) BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ERRATA.

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- Page 109, line 6 from bottom. *For* "Dr. Daltry," *read* "Dr. Dealtry."
 ,, 111, in headline. *For* "Epitaphs on Lord and Lady Canning," *read* "Epitaph on Lady Canning."
 ,, 172, in note. *For* "Sir John," *read* "Colonel John."
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THE
ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

FROM 1859 TO 1868

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.¹

THE period between 1859 and 1868 is in many respects the most important epoch in the history of British India which the present century has seen.

It has been essentially a period of progress—of progress rapid, decided, unprecedented. No doubt the next decade, from 1869 to 1879, will present to those who live to watch it, still greater changes and more striking improvements than those which stamp the period under review with the characteristics I have assigned to it. But they who are called on to assist in those reforms, and whose duty or privilege it is to aid in the advance of civilization in India and the development of her future, will do well to study the history of the last ten years.

The condition of India much resembles that of a patient whose whole system has been labouring for a long while under some chronic disease, so subtle in its influence and so deep-seated as to baffle the vigilance of the physician. All he could say was that the constitution was affected by some morbid condition of the principal organs, which

resulted in a general decay of the vital powers, lethargy, and weakness. Suddenly an unexpected crisis occurs. The patient is seized with symptoms no longer undecided and doubtful. Rapid fever supervenes, and for a short time life trembles in the balance. Then the sharpest and strongest remedies have to be applied; under which recovery is rapid, the fever abates, the crisis is passed, and the patient, no longer the invalid he was before the attack, finds himself free from the debility under which he had been previously suffering, and restored to health, activity, and vigour such as he had never hoped to enjoy. It was in the rebellion of 1857 that the diseased condition of the system under which India had so long been suffering came to a crisis. The impure state of the blood, the feeble circulation, the general want of tone which had impaired the vital organs came to a head, and the symptoms, dangerous and violent, at once suggested a remedy and forced its application. The treatment was sharp and decisive. Throughout the disturbed districts the ordinary laws made way for the arbitration of the sword and cannon; and wherever the contagion spread, the remedy speedily followed. India, exhausted by the rebellion and the civil war, sank into a short but refreshing sleep, and awoke with the bloom of returning health upon her cheek and vigour in her limbs.

It is at this period, when she is just returning to consciousness, that I propose to take up the thread of her history, and to trace briefly indeed, in comparison with the importance of the subject, the events which have since transpired, reviewing the policy of the later part of Lord Canning's administration, the short career of the lamented Lord Elgin, and the whole term of Sir John Lawrence's incumbency as viceroy.

It is the misfortune of India that her real condition has never been fairly represented to the English reader. Hitherto, writers who have dealt with the subject have been either servants of the Government, who view everything

through the medium of official life, or travellers, who after a short sojourn, or a rapid progress through the country, record their hastily formed impressions. But the experience of the latter has been far too short to allow of their speaking from their own knowledge. They are witnesses who depose to facts on hearsay only. Well provided with introductions that admit them within the somewhat jealously guarded limits of official society in India, their intention of writing probably being no secret, they lay themselves open to receive impressions and gather ideas communicated exclusively from official sources. And the consequence is, that their record is but a repetition at second hand of official views. They, too, describe what they have seen through a coloured medium.

It is almost impossible for the English reader to realize the extent to which the official element pervades and colours all social and political questions in India. The non-official class among the European community is as a rule so small, and so wanting in influence, that anywhere out of the Presidency towns it may be said scarcely to exist as a class at all. And a residence within the Presidency towns does not of itself lead to any practical acquaintance with the condition of the interior, any more than a residence in the metropolis of the United Kingdom leads to an acquaintance with the internal condition of Ireland and Scotland. The travellers who visit India, as the generality do, in a hurried manner, provided with introductions to judges, collectors, commissioners, and military officers, for the purpose of "getting up" India, as it is called, are as much to be depended on as if they were to write an account of Russia or France after a visit to those countries accredited to a few officers in the imperial services, from whom they derived their impressions of the people, the laws, and the general condition of the two empires. Even among those Englishmen who have resided in an independent position many years in India, there are very few indeed who have succeeded

in breaking through the armour of reserve in which native society and native opinion shrouds itself. To most officials, the native mind is a sealed book. They are allowed to see exactly as much as the people by whom they are surrounded, and by whom their every slightest action is closely watched, think fit to let them see, and no more. A glass is held before their eyes, coloured with the hues which it suits the showman to represent ; nor is it ever for one moment withdrawn, from the day they enter the country till the day they leave it. A native the best informed and best educated would no more dream of disclosing to an officer of Government his real ideas and opinions than he would of introducing him into his zenana. The Asiatic is always on his guard—always wary. His answers are well weighed : his opinions, when expressed, are all qualified to suit the temper, to chime in with the view of the official interrogator. You will never catch him unawares, never surprise him into the declaration of sentiments of which he has not, before he gives his answer, well studied the shape it is politic they should assume. This may at first sight appear strange or incredible to the English reader, accustomed to freedom of thought and independence of opinion. But that it is a true representation of an actual fact, I appeal to those few who, like myself, have, after passing many years in the service of Government, thrown aside their official character, and continued to reside in India in a private capacity or in the pursuit of some profession which brings them necessarily into contact with native thought and feeling. To such as these, the change is sudden and marked. It is as if you had worn coloured spectacles half your life, and they had been suddenly withdrawn, and you look upon the face of nature for the first time with your own eyes, and without any intervening medium.

The task of recording the exciting events of the rebellion of 1857 and the campaigns of 1858, I leave to other and abler hands. The conflagration is over at the point where

my story commences. The edifice has fallen down, the firemen have subdued the flames and cleared away the *débris*, and the work of reconstruction has commenced—a reconstruction upon a surer foundation and an improved plan.

In dealing with the subject, two courses appeared open to me: either to make the work a short history of the ten years, recording the events as they occurred in order of time, or to deal separately with the different subjects successively which the contemporaneous history of every country embraces. There were objections to both plans. In the first, the incessant breaking of the thread of the story, upon the termination of each year, would have precluded anything like a complete, however superficial, treatment of each particular branch of the subject; and in the second, the division of the whole into separate chapters or heads of discussion would have almost eliminated the historical character of the book, and made it rather a series of essays than what it attempts to be, a history of the last ten years. I have therefore determined to obviate the difficulty which presented itself, by first of all giving a rapid survey of the principal occurrences as they took place in the order of time, so as to preserve an unbroken thread all through the chronicle, and to reserve for future and special consideration certain parts of the subject which cannot be handled in the cursory manner with which it will be necessary to review, within the compass of a few pages, so eventful a period as the decade terminating in 1869. One chapter will thus be given to social characteristics, two chapters to the history of legislation, two to finance, one to education, one to the difficult and complex question of the army amalgamation. The progress of hygiene and sanitation presents so many interesting features in connexion with Indian history during the period under review, that a chapter may profitably be devoted to it. To deal, however, with a subject so essentially professional in a scientific manner would be difficult for a writer who has not had the advantage of a

medical education, and I am indebted to the able assistance of a medical officer of considerable experience in India—a well-known author of several professional works of great value, and a contributor of a great number of interesting papers to the “Annals of Indian Medical Science,” and other philosophical journals—for the chapter on the history of hygiene and sanitation.

Military events should either be related in great detail, as in Kinglake’s “Crimea,” or Napier’s “Peninsular War,” or concisely, as in Gibbon, who in five lines disposes of a campaign that extended from Gaul to Constantinople. A bare recital of successive operations, wearying the reader with names of persons and places in which he can take no interest, because he knows nothing of them individually and separately, must always be dry and uninteresting. And this is the reason why, for the most part, Indian history is so unpalatable to the general reader. His eye runs over page after page of wars and battles, victories and defeats, and when he reaches the end, he finds that nothing he has read has left the least definite impression on his mind. All he derives is a cloudy recollection of a mass of names, in which no single feature is distinguishable from the rest. And Indian history is, for the most part, a chronicle of wars, and little else.

But with the exception of the concluding operations of the great campaign of 1857 and ’58, the Bhotan war, and one or two military expeditions on the North-west frontier, the record of events in India from 1859 to 1869 is, fortunately for the writer no less than the reader, free from the prevailing features that ordinarily characterise Indian history. A chapter will be devoted to a brief description of the military operations in Bhotan, and the circumstances that led to them; and another chapter to a sketch of the two principal campaigns called the Umbeyla and the Black Mountain campaigns, on the Peshawur frontier, in 1863 and 1868.

It remains to say a few words as to the sources of

information to which I have resorted for materials. They are mainly the blue-books and official records, or reports published in some departments annually, in others triennially, in others quarterly, and supplied liberally to the press. The files of newspapers have been freely consulted, especially the *Calcutta Englishman* and the *Delhi Gazette*, the *Madras Times* and *Athenæum*, and in Bombay the *Times of India* and the *Bombay Gazette*, as well as the official *Gazette* and despatches, the Acts of Council, Harrington's "Analysis of the Bengal Regulations," the reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs of 1812 and 1832, Col. Adye's "Sitana Campaign," Dr. Rennie's "Bhotan War," Mr. Algernon West's "Administration of Sir Charles Wood," and several other works of a similar character. These, aided by information from private letters, and my own notes, are the main sources of information. In dealing with the Umbeyla campaign, I have drawn largely upon a lively and animated description communicated in a series of letters to the *Delhi Gazette* newspaper by Dr. Sylvester, of the Bombay medical service, who was an eye-witness of the scenes he so graphically paints; and similarly, in the case of the Black Mountain campaign, I have availed myself of the account transmitted to the same journal by another eye-witness of what he describes, Deputy-Inspector-General Morton, of the Bengal medical service. I must not omit to mention the very prompt attention with which every requisition of mine for access to official records has been met by the various heads of departments to whom I have applied. Nor can I close this notice of the sources whence my materials have been taken, without alluding to the great assistance I have derived from the files of the *Friend of India*. Unable to concur in the views expressed by that journal on most questions, I have found its comprehensive compendium of news, collected and arranged with most praiseworthy diligence, of the greatest use in directing attention to original sources of information, and

in preserving the order of time in the multitude of events that crowd upon the memory.

In bringing the narrative down to the end of Sir John Lawrence's administration, I have necessarily had to encounter a difficulty which always attends the writer of contemporaneous, or almost contemporaneous, history. It is absolutely impossible to describe passing events in such a way as to give an historical character to the outlines of the picture, particularly in dealing with India, where political, financial, and legislative changes are so rapid and frequent. The care and research requisite to collect and arrange the information contained in this volume has necessarily occupied all the spare hours that could be snatched from the intervals of professional labour over a considerable period of time, and recent or contemporaneous measures in the legislative and political departments have rendered a careful revision of the manuscript indispensable, involving alterations in the text. Thus, since I left India, in the beginning of 1869, the income-tax, in a modified form, has been re-introduced, and the commission of inquiry into the Bank of Bombay has completed its sittings, although the report has not yet been made public; and I have, therefore, been unable to deal with so important an episode in the history of the last decade, in the manner which the nature of the subject demands. A new line of foreign policy has been developed, and several legislative measures, the necessity of which I had pointed out, as indeed it was generally recognised, have been passed. I have done my best, however, to grapple with these difficulties, and have spared no pains to ensure accuracy. It is very possible that my views on Indian affairs may be unfavourably received in official circles; but hitherto, the outside world has heard little or nothing of India from any other quarter than the official, and wherever discussion arises, all I ask for is a fair and impartial hearing from all who are interested in the welfare of British India.

CHAPTER II.

1859.

Conclusion of the campaign—Desultory operations—Critical state of the country—Tantia Topce—Sir Hugh Rose—Operations on the Oude frontier—Civil re-organization in Oude—Lord Canning's policy—Talookdaree tenure—Summary settlement of 1856—Pacification of Oude.

THE opening of the year 1859 found us engaged in trampling out the dying embers of the rebellion.

On the 18th January, 1859, Lord Canning, who was then at Allahabad, published a despatch from Lord Clyde, prefacing it with a few weighty paragraphs of his own. In this important State paper it is announced "that the campaign in which the troops under his (Lord Clyde's) immediate command have been engaged, is closed, and rebellion no longer exists in Oude. The Governor-General seizes the earliest opportunity of tendering his warmest thanks to the Commander-in-Chief, and to the noble army which he leads, for the accomplishment of this good work."

The campaign, indeed, was at an end. The enemy had no organized army in the field in any part of India. But there were hordes of armed men, bent on mischief, men hardy and inured to war, desperate, fighting as they thought with halts round their necks, traversing the country in large bands, varying from a thousand to ten thousand strong, and taking up positions in inaccessible places, sometimes in mountains, sometimes in fortresses, sometimes in walled towns. And wherever they went they brought desolation in their track. Strong enough to levy contributions by force from

those who would not willingly afford supplies, and to take a bloody revenge whenever aid was refused, these bands, half soldiers, half dacoits, struck terror into every part of the country through which they marched. There was a danger of this mischievous state of things continuing—of a chronic condition of guerilla war supervening upon the now extinguished rebellion. The Government, therefore, put forth all its strength to crush this threatening evil in the bud, and numberless brigades and detachments were set in motion all over that vast tract of country which may be roughly described as lying between the north-east frontier of Oude and the Nerbudda river. To trace the operations of these columns in detail would fill volumes, and to the English reader not well acquainted with localities, the details would be profitless and uninteresting. Every commanding officer of a detachment—and the rank of the commander varied generally with the strength of the party he commanded, from the brigadier-general down to the subaltern of irregular cavalry or military police—engaged the enemy as often as he could, and recorded the affair and its result in a report or despatch which was duly published in the official *Gazette*. The consequence is, that the Gazettes of those times are filled with reports couched in official language, and in general purport so much resembling each other that the perusal of them leaves on the mind a confused idea of a mass of straggling unconnected military operations conducted on no definite plan, and illustrating no known principle of strategy. The work resembles that which a man performs, who, when a fire has scarcely burnt itself out, goes about trampling on burning embers wherever he can find them. The duty was a severe one. The courage and skill of the officers, and the endurance and bravery of the men, were perhaps more severely tested in this series of petty campaigns than in a great action. Frequently an officer with a handful of troops under him, men and horses jaded and worn, would come at the close of a long march upon the

track of a band of rebels perhaps ten times their strength in number. The prospect of an engagement stimulates the fatigued soldiers to fresh exertion, and the gallant little force earns its night's rest by a sharp skirmish and pursuit, and a capture of the enemy's guns.

When the extent of country liable to become the field of such operations is considered ; the mischievous results of the maintenance of a perpetual political ferment among native states especially ; the facilities which are at hand in India at all times, and particularly after such a crisis as the Mutiny, for keeping up a guerilla war ; the enormous population that exists in that country born and bred in habits of rapine and violence, who are only too ready to take advantage of any opportunity for indulging their hereditary propensities ; and the immense number of men, many of them leaders of influence, chiefs, daring robbers, dashing soldiers, who believed that their lives were already forfeited, and that nothing remained for them but to die, as their fathers perhaps died before them, sword in hand, —it may be conceived how harassing was the duty, yet how necessary to be performed, and how anxious the Government were to get it done before the hot weather should set in.

The prevailing tragic features of the story of the rebellion are relieved by many little episodes of a comic nature ; and in the closing scenes of the great drama, the hunt after Tantia Topee, though it ended indeed tragically for him, has a good deal of the humorous about it, and at the time it took place excited considerable amusement in India.

Tantia Topee was one of the Nana's associates, and there is good reason to suppose, from what little authentic information we have been able to collect about the terrible tragedy at Cawnpore, that he had quite as great, if not a greater share than the Nana himself in the cruel slaughter of our unfortunate countrymen. At that time Tantia Topee had not risen into notice. He first appears

prominently as a leader in the rebel army during the siege of Jhansie by Sir Hugh Rose, now Lord Strathnairn, when he attacked the British force with the view of raising the siege.

It seldom happens that a great war, or a serious political crisis, fails in bringing forward the man of the time, whose genius lacked only the opportunity of development. The Crimean war was, indeed, an exception; the campaign in India, in 1857-58, was no exception to the rule. Far in advance of any of the other commanders in genius, in tact, judgment, energy, and that unflinching determination which has won for England so many victories by sea and land, the character of Sir Hugh Rose, to any one who studies the military history of those times, stands out prominently. If his services have been rewarded, they have never been appreciated, perhaps because not thoroughly understood, in England. In India, it is generally believed, some official jealousy threw into the shade what was undoubtedly one of the most brilliant achievements that the military history of any country in ancient or modern times has recorded. Important as were the operations under Lord Clyde in Oude and Rohilcund, they would have been profitless, so far as putting an end to the war is concerned, had it not been for the vigour, and determination, and skill of his lieutenant. And fortunate it was for us that the tremendous task of recovering Central India, from the borders of the Western Presidency up to the Ganges, had been entrusted to a commander of Sir Hugh Rose's stamp. Had it been made over to a less able man, the result would have been probably the transference of the seat of war from Oude and Rohilcund to Central India; when, in a most difficult country, surrounded by independent states only half inclined to side with us, at any rate fully prepared to take the chances of war in a general *mêlée*, the campaign, instead of being closed in 1859, would have probably gone on two years longer. Had all Sir Hugh Rose's previous service been passed in India, had he made

the country and the character of its inhabitants his study for years, he could not have shown greater knowledge of the most effective method of dealing with the rebellion. With a small but well-appointed force, a tithe of that with which Lord Clyde confronted an enemy scarcely less formidable, he marched in one career of conquest from the Western Presidency right up to Calpee on the Jumna, capturing fortresses and walled towns, driving the enemy before him, fighting battles against enormous odds with one hand, while with the other he kept open his communication, or, as at Jhansie, maintained a siege. He understood the immense importance in Asiatic warfare of keeping the ball rolling. He allowed the enemy no breathing time. The consequence was that, formidable though they were in numbers, in character, in desperation, in resources, in position, and in the sympathy of the population, they disappeared before the British troops as a row of houses built up with a pack of cards falls at the touch of the hand. Such an unchecked career of conquest resembles that of the Israelitish invaders of Palestine. It was an achievement scarcely less glorious than the retreat of the Ten Thousand. The manner in which it has been undervalued may, perhaps, be owing to the fact that no leading journal of the day had a correspondent in Sir Hugh Rose's camp.

What would have happened had this part of the campaign been entrusted to less able hands, is shown by the episode of the chase after Tantia Topee. Failing in his attack on the British troops at Jhansie, foiled again at Calpee, and again at Gwalior, at each of which places the small force under Sir Hugh Rose, contending against an enemy immensely superior in numbers, aided by the fierce heat of the Indian summer, had covered itself with glory, Tantia Topee, at the head of a large body of fugitive soldiers, mounted chiefly on small hardy ponies—"tattoos" as they are called in India—made his way to the Nerbudda. The Bombay troops were awaiting him, and he turned again,

and from that time (Gwalior fell before Sir Hugh Rose on the 18th June, 1858) till the 7th April, 1859, Tantia Topce and the British columns were playing a game of hunt the hare all over Central India. He never succeeded in crossing the Nerbudda. At one time, as many as fourteen brigades were on the move after him. He was like a "will of the wisp." It seemed impossible to overtake him. Mounted on these hardy tattoos, he and his followers marched thirty, forty, sometimes, when hard pressed, seventy miles a day. It was clear he was in a country whose inhabitants sympathised with him, for the excellence of his information enabled him to baffle all the efforts of his pursuers. So rapid were his movements, and so constantly were false reports of his whereabouts circulated to mislead, that it seemed as if he were endowed with the faculty of being in half-a-dozen places at once. At last, however, the cordon of hunters surrounded him; driven to the sterile tracts of Bekaneer, and unable to obtain supplies in that desert country for his followers, he was forced to double back towards Bundelcund. Here he fell at last, on the 7th April, into the hands of his pursuers, but not fairly caught after all. He was betrayed.

Major Meade's column was close upon his heels. It consisted of the 21st company of Royal Engineers, detachments of the 9th and 24th Native Infantry, and about a hundred and fifty troopers belonging to a regiment raised by Major Meade himself, and called "Meade's Horse," and now incorporated with the Central India Horse.

Raja Man Singh of Porona—a territory in the jungles to the west of Jhansie, not far from Seepree (who must not be confounded with the better-known chief of that name, one of the Oude talookdars)—was in the confidence of the fugitive Mahratta chieftain, and undertook to betray his friend, upon whose head a large reward was set. Tantia had been joined by Ajeet Singh of Gwalior, the uncle of this Man Singh who played the traitor, and was marching

for a ford over the Chumbul river at the junction of that stream with the Benasse, with the intention of joining Feroze Shah. This chief was one of the Delhi princes, who appears to have more of the character of the dashing soldier in him than the rest of his family. He had recently crossed over from Oude with a large following, and made for Central India. Eventually he escaped the fate which overtook so many of the leaders in the rebellion, went to Mecca, whence he has recently returned, and is at this moment said to be on the frontier of Peshawur endeavouring to kindle the smouldering embers of animosity against the British Government among the Affghan tribes of those regions.

Tantia had an elephant with him, while his followers were mounted on their ponies, and was now in the Porona jungles in fancied security, in the domains of his friend Man Singh. On the afternoon of the 6th April this chief, having given Major Meade information of the actual position of the rebel camp, and having had a party of sepoy placed under his orders, started on his treacherous errand. The sepoy were ordered to follow at nightfall, and to await further instructions at a spot selected for the rendezvous. In the middle of the night Man Singh joined them, and took them cautiously and quietly up to the Mahratta camp, where the ill-fated Tantia was lying down sleeping off the fatigues of the day between two pundits. Man Singh seized him; the pundits took to their heels; and the Mahratta chief who had so long kept up the chase, and baffled all the efforts of the British Government to catch him, was bound securely with ropes and taken into Major Meade's camp, then at Goonah. He was tried by a court-martial and hanged, a fate which his complicity with the horrible atrocities committed at Cawnpore but too well deserved.

Meantime the more important military operations on the Oude frontier had resulted in driving the remnant of the rebel army of Oude, under the Begum and the Nana, across

the first range of the Himalayas, which form the boundary between the independent kingdom of Nepal and what was then, and is now, the British India territory.

These operations it will be necessary briefly to detail, but the plan of the campaign, which occupied six weeks, will hardly be understood without a tolerable acquaintance with the geographical features of the country. On the 16th November, Brigadier Taylor, C.B., of Her Majesty's 79th Highlanders, had been directed to proceed with a strong brigade to Fyzabad and to cross the river Gogra, while another brigade under Sir Hope Grant marched in a direct line to the Goomtee. Leaving a force under Brigadier Horsford, C.B., of the Rifle Brigade, to reduce the country between Sultanpore on the Goomtee and Fyzabad on the Gogra, Sir Hope Grant pressed on with the head-quarters of Hodson's Horse to Fyzabad, to take command of the force in the field on the right bank of the Gogra. On the west frontier of Oude, in the Goruckpore district, there was a force consisting of the *Pearl's* Naval Brigade, the Bengal Yeomanry, the 13th (Prince Albert's) regiment, and the head-quarters of the 27th Madras Native Infantry, the regiment of Ferozepore (Sikhs) with some guns, under the command of Brigadier Rowcroft of the Indian Army. This force, which had been acting successfully and vigorously in reducing the district to order, was put under the command of Sir Hope Grant, and directed to move up into the Trans-Gogra district from the south and west. Meanwhile an excellent bridge had been constructed at Fyzabad by Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholson of the Engineers; and on the 25th November, Sir Hope Grant's arrangements being completed, he crossed the Gogra and attacked the rebels in force under the Rajah of Gonda and a Mahommedan chief, Mehndee Hooscin. Having defeated them and captured six guns, Sir Hope Grant marched on to Gonda, a place about midway north by west between Fyzabad and Baraitch; while Brigadier Rowcroft crossing the Raptec,—a rapid stream that, flowing by Baraitch and Goruckpore,

unites its waters with those of the river Gogra some distance west of the latter city,—drove the enemy northward towards Toolseepore. This place holds a position answering to the apex of a triangle the base of which would be formed by a line drawn from Baraitch to Gonda. Here a further onward movement was delayed, to allow the Commander-in-Chief to develop his plans, having for their object the concentration of the rebel army on the north of the Raptee. The conclusion of the operations in the districts to the west and north-west of Lucknow having left Lord Clyde at liberty to move his columns up to the support of Sir Hope Grant, he halted for a few days at Lucknow to get over some arrears of official work, while the troops passed on to take up their respective positions which had been assigned them in the cordon now pretty well surrounding the enemy.

Sir Hope Grant's instructions had been most explicit upon the absolute necessity of preventing the enemy from escaping round his right flank, between it and Brigadier Rowcroft's column, or throwing himself upon Berar. It was a kind of campaigning which especially called forth Lord Clyde's peculiar genius. The marked characteristic of his strategy was extreme caution, which he has often been blamed for carrying to excess—no doubt sometimes with reason. But in this instance, at least, excess of caution was almost impossible. He was in the position of a chess-player who has reduced his adversary to a single king, and whose only game is to hedge him in, or drive him to a corner of the board and there checkmate him. With this view the plan of the whole campaign had been arranged as far back as the preceding July; the operations in Berar, Goruckpore, and Oude being regarded as one campaign, having for its design the reduction of the whole country and the sweeping of the enemy out of our own territory into the jungles at the foot of the Nepal hills. Hitherto it had been most successful. The different brigades, perambulating the whole district where the enemy had taken refuge, cleared the country, driving the rebels before them, and destroying the

forts successively as they fell into our hands, either captured by assault, or, as was more generally the case, having been abandoned on our approach.

When all was ready for the final move, the Commander-in-Chief pressed on by forced marches, and joined Sir Hope Grant at Secrora, whence troops had already been passed on to Bulrampore on the Raptee. Brigadier Rowcroft now received orders to bring his right forward, and invade the Toolseepore district from the north-west corner of Goruckpore. At the same time the Commander-in-Chief advanced to Baraitch with Brigadier Horsford, the Begum and the Nana retiring from that place on the approach of the British, whose rear and flank were watched by Brigadier Eveleigh, while Brigadier Purnell watched the Gogra, and Brigadier Colin Troup the Rohilcund frontier. The cordon was thus drawn closer; but to render it still more secure, another force, under Colonel Christie, was pushed up to a place called Dhurumpore, almost due north of Baraitch.

Active operations then again commenced, which speedily resulted in the enemy being driven across the Raptee, and pressed by the pursuing column till they took refuge beyond the first range of mountains within the Nepal frontier.

There is little further to record. One more expedition into the hills beyond the Raptee, conducted in February by the column under Brigadier Horsford, completed the efforts of the British Commander-in-Chief to effect the destruction of the rebels. The column remained there a week, captured several guns and a few prisoners, drove the enemy further into the interior of Nepal, and then returned. It was hoped that our ally Jung Bahadoor, of Nepal, would have at once surrounded and captured the fugitives who had, uninvited, sought an asylum in his territory. Whether it was from unwillingness on his own part, or inability to control the feelings of his chiefs and soldiers, or from superstition, or from sympathy, it is difficult to say; but it was

not till the close of the year that, having assembled a large body of troops on pretence of a hunting expedition, he surrounded the rebel camp, and called on them to surrender. About two thousand five hundred men and twenty officers and chiefs did so, and were passed on to British territory, where the sepoys were released and the chiefs detained for trial. The Nana and the Begum, with a few followers, remained in Nepal.

While these military operations were going on in Oude and throughout Central India—where however they were, as regards the strength of the individual detachments, on a much smaller scale—the attempt to reintroduce civil organization into the province of Oude was producing rapid results. The policy adopted by Lord Canning on the question has not, after the lapse of ten years, ceased to form a subject for discussion. Nor is it ever likely to escape discussion whenever attention is directed to the existing condition of Oude or the past history of its administration. Lord Canning's famous proclamation of 1858 was at the time warmly discussed in Parliament, and a majority of the House of Commons condemned it as an act of unjustifiable rashness and severity. In India, when it first appeared, the public mind was too full of other things to pay that attention to it which its importance demanded. The insurrection had not yet been quite trampled down ; troops were in the field, and engagements, though minor ones compared with the great battles that decided the fate of India, were being fought every day in one part of the country or another, and newspapers were full of accounts of skirmishes, lists of guns captured, and the reports of casualties. The public had not time to consider the probable effect upon the future condition of Oude, of a proclamation confiscating to its conquerors the proprietary right in the entire soil of the province. After that first discussion in Parliament little more was heard about it, but papers were called for. And although little was written or said out of doors, the subject was not laid aside

or forgotten, either by the Council of India or the officials on the spot. Correspondence passed at intervals between the Chief Commissioner of Oude and the Governor-General of India and the Secretary of State and his council in England, most of which has since been given to the public in the form of two bulky blue books, monuments of the indefatigable research of our revenue officers, and witnesses to the difficulty that surrounds a subject on which scarce two of them agree.

It has been said that at that time the full force of Lord Canning's policy had not been thoroughly recognised, though if ever a proclamation was couched in unmistakeable language the document of 1858 assuredly was. Yet it certainly appears, from the despatch of the Secretary of State of 1860 and 1861, that the proclamation was not suspected of bearing the interpretation which was afterwards attempted to be laid upon it. The first blue book was not printed till the 20th February, 1865, and did not reach India till some little time after. Meanwhile, the lamented death of Lord Elgin left the throne of the viceroy vacant, and Sir John Lawrence, with the laurels nobly earned in his past brilliant career fresh upon his brow, was selected to fill it. Then it was that the war of tenant right, which had hitherto slumbered, or at any rate been confined to the portfolios of ministers and councillors and chief commissioners, "now trebly thundering swelled the gale," and the controversy was carried on with a degree of acrimony and almost mutual recrimination to which the formal style and stereotyped phrases of Indian official records were altogether unaccustomed. The details of this controversy belong necessarily to a later page of this history, when Sir John Lawrence's administration comes under consideration. For the present it is necessary only to carry on the thread of our story, and to relate briefly the circumstances under which this famous proclamation was issued, and the mode in which it was carried out.

Upon the annexation of Oude in 1856, instructions were

forwarded to the Chief Commissioner¹ "that the settlement should be made village by village with the parties actually in possession, but without any recognition, either formal or indirect, of their proprietary rights. It must be borne in mind, as a leading principle, that the desire and intention of the Government is to deal with the actual occupants of the soil, that is, with village zemindars, or with the proprietary coparcenaries which are believed to exist in Oude, and not to suffer the interposition of middlemen, as talookdars, farmers of the revenue, and such like; the claims of these, if they have any tenable claims, may be more conveniently considered at a future period, or brought judicially before the court competent to investigate and decide upon them."

Over-hasty legislation, inseparable from a Government like that of India, where there is no representative element, and consequently no means beyond official channels for arriving at a correct knowledge of the actual condition of the people, has ever been the bane of Indian administration. As Sir Erskine Perry, in his minute upon this very question of Oude tenures, at a much later period of the controversy, most forcibly remarked: "The history of British India is full of examples of the great mischief done by clothing imperfect theories in the rigid garb of law." The Government in 1856, when it took forcible possession of Oude under circumstances, and in a manner, which all special pleaders for the now obsolete policy of annexation have vainly striven to justify, did not appear even to know what the talookdars were. They seemed to consider them middlemen, mere interlopers between the reigning power and the owner of the soil. Whereas, as Mr. Strachey remarks in the address already quoted, the talookdars of Oude constituted an old landed aristocracy possessing undoubted rights of property in the soil.

¹ *Vide* Hon. John Strachey's Address to the Legislative Council on introducing the Bill to define the rights of talookdars and others in certain estates in Oude: Simla, 17th July, 1867.

It is not difficult for those who have gained an insight into the system under which the government of India is administered, to trace the origin of this mistake. There are many symptoms to be observed in India of the communication to the Anglo-Indian mind of some of the characteristic tendencies of the Asiatic. If a certain acclimatization is necessary to render the physical frame of the European capable of sustaining the effects of the Indian climate, it would seem as if a somewhat analogous process had to be gone through with the mental organization. Englishmen located for many years in India undergo, a vast deal more than they are mostly aware of, assimilation to the people that surround them. It is not meant that they acquire their habits of life, mode of dress, manners and customs, though even in this respect the assimilation goes on to a much greater extent than is generally suspected. But the English official in India, before he has been many years there, loses his English habits of thought and inquiry, and adopts as rules of political faith the traditional opinions current in the circle within which he moves, and whose official atmosphere he breathes. Almost without perceiving it he becomes as wedded to the traditions of his official predecessors, as the Hindoo is to those of his forefathers. To investigate for himself the truth and soundness of conclusions made ready to hand, and presented for acceptance with the office he takes up, much more to question their correctness, is rank heresy. To look beyond the narrow circle in which he lives and moves for information is to exhibit a tendency to political freethinking. If the archives of his office show the recorded opinions of his predecessors that a talookdar is a middleman, he does not dream of inquiring whether the character of the talookdar is truly described, nor does it ever occur to him to ask himself whether, his predecessors' experience being necessarily confined to one province, perhaps at the time the record was made the only portion of India under British rule, it may not be possible that a talookdar beyond the

limits of that province may or may not be something very different from what he is represented there.

The great authority on Indian land tenures, Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, had stated in his minute on the Revenue Department, dated 2d April, 1788,¹ from experience derived in the province of Bengal Proper, that the talookdaree tenure was a tenure subordinate to that of the zemindaree, but possessed of certain special rights and privileges, such as that of paying his revenue direct to the *khalsa*, or Government exchequer. When we annexed Oude, as Mr. Strachey says, two-thirds of the province was in the hands of the talookdars. It seemed not to have been made a subject of inquiry whether in Oude, a new province just annexed, the talookdar was a different personage from that described by Sir John Shore in Bengal in 1788.

Another apt illustration of the results of the system may be found in the history of Punjab revenue administration. In the debate on the Punjab Tenancy Bill, on the 17th Jan. 1868, Mr. Brandreth, a Punjab official of great experience, and a member of the Legislative Council, in tracing the past history of tenant-right in that province, remarked that the "Directions for Settlement Officers in the North-Western Provinces" was the *only guide-book* which the settlement-officers in the Punjab possessed. The force of this remark will be better understood by the English reader, if I explain in a few words what a "settlement-officer" in India really is, and in what light he is regarded by the natives. Properly speaking, a "settlement" means a settlement of the amount of revenue to be paid to the Government on land. So far, the duties of such an official are clear and simple. But in a new province he is immediately confronted by the question, With whom is the settlement to be made? in other words, Who is the proprietor? In theory,

¹ *Vide* extracts from Harrington's "Analysis of the Bengal Regulations, Calcutta, 1866," and Sir John Shore's "Minutes on the Rights of Zemindars and Talookdars, recorded in the Proceedings of Government in the Revenue Department, 2d April, 1788."

the functions of the revenue and the judicial officer are well defined; and after a province has been for many years under our rule, the natives learn to understand the difference between them. But at first it is impossible for them to do so. Except, perhaps, in the case of a few who may gain access to the European official, and may be able to understand him, the bulk of the people will be dependent upon vague rumour, or the interpretation of probably not impartial subordinates for whatever knowledge they may acquire of the new system. It thus happens that the settlement-officer, whose duties are merely to record existing rights, and settle the revenue accordingly, comes to be looked upon as an officer empowered to decide, and actually does in numbers of instances in effect decide, rights to landed property.

The "Directions for Settlement Officers in the North-Western Provinces" was a work compiled by Mr. Thomason, formerly Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, who was notoriously so wedded to one system that it has been called after him—erroneously, for he was by no means the founder of it—"The Thomasonian System." In that official guide-book, certain principles were laid down which many able revenue authorities have always held, and still hold, to be unsound, even in that part of India for which they were compiled. The mischief committed by a blind adherence to this policy in Oude, even if it did not of itself cause, certainly contributed to, the horrors and bloodshed of 1857-58. Yet, for the Punjab, a large province, inhabited by many different races, each with its own customs and modes of tenure, the same infallible guide-book was provided; a guide-book according to which rights in land were to be recorded, nominally—in reality, to be decided. Mr. Brandreth alludes to one result of this: "It was expressly laid down," he says, "in the Guide Book, that those cultivators who have for a course of years occupied the same field at the same or equitable rates, are held to possess the rights of continued occupancy; while those

whose tenure is not similarly sanctioned are considered tenants at will. In accordance with the spirit of these instructions, the Punjab settlement-officers appeared to have recorded all tenants who had cultivated their lands continuously for certain periods as possessing rights of occupancy, without at all regarding any other circumstances or conditions connected with their occupancy." And that these "directions for revenue officers" had a good deal of the force of law, would appear from what Mr. Brandreth adds in the next sentence: "The Civil Courts also had subsequently, for the most part, except with regard to a limited class of cases, acted on the same principles."¹

Oude was annexed, as has been shown, in 1856. In 1857 a settlement was made, in which the principle that the talookdars were interlopers, with no right of property, was acted on in the "extremest" manner.² And the extent to which it was acted on seems to be, now, almost incredible.

"At the first summary settlement," says Mr. Strachey, "made after the annexation of the province, for a single season the revenue paid by the talookdars to the Government amounted to about sixty-six lacs of rupees, and they were in possession of 23,500 villages. At the settlement of 1856-7, they were dispossessed of one-half this property. In many cases they lost much more than this." The Chief Commissioner then proceeds to give some instances. Raja Man Singh was in possession of 577 villages, paying more than two lacs a year revenue. The settlement of 1856-7 left him with six villages, paying 2,900 rupees. It was a sudden decrease of this nobleman's income from about 20,000*l.* to 300*l.* a year. "This, it is true," continues Mr. Strachey, "was not an old ancestral estate, but many of the oldest families in the province were treated in the same manner. In one ancient estate, out of 378 villages 266 were taken away. In another very ancient

¹ *Vide* Supplement to *Gazette of India* (official), 25th Jan. 1868.

² The Hon. Mr. Strachey's address.

estate, out of 204 villages 155 were taken away. In the estate of Raja Hanwant Singh, consisting of 322 villages, paying between seventy and eighty thousand rupees a year as Government revenue, 200 villages, which had been in the undisputed possession of his family for many generations, were taken from him. In the last case, the officers who had made the settlement took refuge on the outbreak of the rebellion in the Raja's fort, and while they were there, they saw the men with whom the settlement had been made, come in and tender their allegiance to the Raja."

This settlement, that swept away so many ancient rights and committed so much injustice, was in itself swept away by the flood of 1857.¹ Lucknow was recaptured in March 1858, and then it was that Lord Canning's famous proclamation was issued.

At that time in India, the Punjab fever ran high. Dazzled by the success which had attended the efforts of the Punjab Government to trample out the insurrection the moment it appeared in their province, so strong a contrast with what happened in other parts of India; dazzled, too, by the brilliance of the personal character of many of the officers who came from the Punjab to take part in the campaign—of such men, for instance, as Nicholson and Hodson—it seemed to the Anglo-Indian community that the sooner the whole of India was subjected to the process of Punjabization the better. No doubt the Government

¹ With facts like these before us, one would think there was no necessity for historians of the "mutiny," as it is generally called, to waste much time and thought in finding out a cause for rebellion. The movement, call it by what name we may, unquestionably emanated from the province of Oude. And Lord Dalhousie is commonly said to have indirectly caused it, in that he carried out the annexation. It would be much more correct to say that it was caused by the obstinate adherence of the Bengal civilian to the traditional prejudices of what is called the Thomasonian school, an obstinacy which has since 1857 on more than one occasion nearly driven the population of large provinces into rebellion again.

shared this feeling. It was a fact there was no disputing, that directly the insurrection came in contact with the Lahore administration it was checked and foiled. Everywhere else, where it appeared in any force, it prevailed. There might be many ways of accounting for this, still there was the fact; and what was more, not only had the Punjab strength to stamp out the rebellion, but it furnished from its own resources the men and material by which Delhi was captured and the neck of the rebellion broken, before the long-expected succours had begun to arrive from England. So it was that public feeling in India pointed to the Punjab system of government as that best adapted for the province so lately the seat of anarchy. With the fullest approbation of all who watched the course of public events, the frontier of the Punjab had been extended so as to take in the district of Delhi, up to that time attached to the North-West,—the only measure of Lord Canning which, perhaps, at the time was generally approved. And the same principle was acted on when Sir Robert Montgomery, who had been for several years associated with Sir John Lawrence, was summoned from Lahore to take the helm as Chief Commissioner of Oude. There he remained till Sir John Lawrence's retirement made a vacancy in the Punjab (but lately elevated to the dignity of a Lieutenant-Governorship), when he made over the Chief Commissionership of Oude to Mr. Wingfield and returned to Lahore.

Sir Robert Montgomery's administration of Oude belongs to a period anterior to that at which this history commences. But it was necessary to allude to it, because to him was committed the duty of promulgating Lord Canning's proclamation of March 1858. "This proclamation," remarks Mr. Strachey, "had altogether a strange history. When it was issued there is not a doubt that it was intended as a measure of coercion and punishment to the rebellious talookdars. It would have seemed incredible in March 1858 that the Proclamation should come to be looked upon

by the talookdars as the Magna Charta on which all their rights depend. During the rebellion, I believe that, as a matter of fact, hardly anybody to whom the Proclamation was addressed ever saw it; and it was supposed for some time to have been virtually a dead letter. This belief was entertained by the Secretary of State, Lord Stanley, nine months after the issue of the Proclamation, and after he had received the explanation of the Governor-General regarding it. 'I observe with satisfaction,' Lord Stanley writes, 'that the policy indicated in the document adverted to, as regards the claims of the talookdars and other proprietors in Oude, has not in practice been adopted by you, and is declared on your own authority never to have been intended to have been carried into effect.'

"However indiscriminate and unsparing may have been the sentence of confiscation which your proclamation pronounced, that sentence has not been put in force: and the issuing it would appear to have been merely a menace, designed to strike awe into the minds of those still arrayed in arms against the British Government."

Whether Lord Canning did or did not intend his proclamation to have the signification which it has since been attempted to make it bear, it is useless now to inquire. Sir Robert Montgomery—and it is to be presumed he acted in accordance with the views of the Viceroy, for he was assured that his measures should have the fullest support—made good use of it in carrying out the especial work for which he had been summoned from Lahore, viz. the pacification of Oude. He summoned the talookdars to Lucknow in June 1858 to make their submission, and they were told that on their arrival they would be informed of the terms upon which they would be secured in possession of the estates they had held under the native government. Thus far the Proclamation had had a good effect: it entirely uprooted the settlement made in 1856-7. That settlement may, indeed, be considered to have uprooted itself, or at any rate to have been cancelled by the

events which had transpired in the interval. But it was manifestly open to argument, whether it presented itself to Lord Canning's mind in this view or not, that on the re-establishment of British rule in Oude the iniquitous settlement of 1856-7 would *ipso facto* be taken as still in operation, or rather as reverting after the hiatus caused by the temporary suspension of law had ceased. Lord Canning had already adopted the conclusion that the old system of village settlement in vogue in the older provinces, and introduced into Oude in 1856-7 by the civilians who had been educated in the school of Bird and Thomason, was faulty. It would have been difficult in the face of the deeply-rooted prejudices of the civil officers, who were wedded to this system, to have remedied thoroughly the mischief caused by the measures of 1856-7. There was but one way of getting rid of it, and that was the plan he adopted. By his wholesale confiscation he annihilated all rights in the soil, and with them those that had been recognised or conferred by British officers in the previous settlement. Viewed in this light, the Proclamation appears as an act of the highest wisdom. Viewed in any other, it is almost inexplicable.

The famous Proclamation is as follows. It was issued in March 1858, but not published in the *Gazette* till the 30th of April, 1859.

“PROCLAMATION.

“The army of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is in possession of Lucknow, and the city lies at the mercy of the British Government, whose authority it has for nine months rebelliously defied and resisted.

“This resistance, begun by a mutinous soldiery, has found support from the inhabitants of the city, and of the province of Oude at large. Many who owed their prosperity to the British Government, as well as those who believed themselves aggrieved by it, have joined in this bad cause, and have ranged themselves with the enemies of the State.

“They have been guilty of a great crime, and have subjected themselves to a just retribution.

“The capital of their country is now once more in the hands of the

British troops. From this day it will be held by a force which nothing can withstand, and the authority of the Government will be carried into every corner of the province.

"The time, then, has come at which the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India deems it right to make known the mode in which the British Government will deal with the talookdars, chiefs, and landholders of Oude, and their followers.

"The first care of the Governor-General will be to reward those who have been steadfast in their allegiance at a time when the authority of the Government was partially overborne, and who have proved this by the support and assistance which they have given to British officers.

"Therefore the Right Honourable the Governor-General declares that Drigbyjeye Singh, Raja of Bulrampore, Koolwunt Singh, Raja of Pudnaha, Rao Hurdeo Buksh Singh, of Kutiaree, Kashee Pershad, Thakoor of Sissaindee, Zubr Singh, Zemindar of Gopal Khair, and Chundee Lal, Zemindar of Moraon (Baiswarah), are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them; and that these loyal men will be further rewarded in such manner and to such extent as, upon consideration of their merits and their position, the Governor-General shall determine.

"A proportionate measure of reward and honour, according to their deserts, will be conferred upon others in whose favour like claims may be established to the satisfaction of the Government.

"The Governor-General further proclaims to the people of Oude that, with the above-mentioned exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British Government, which will dispose of that right in such manner as to it may seem fitting.

"To those talookdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers, who shall make immediate submission to the Chief Commissioner of Oude, surrendering their arms and obeying his orders, the Right Honourable the Governor-General promises that their lives and honour shall be safe, provided that their hands are not stained with English blood murderously shed. But as regards any further indulgence which may be extended to them, and the condition in which they may hereafter be placed, they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British Government.

"To those amongst them who shall promptly come forward and give to the Chief Commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order, this indulgence will be large, and the Governor-General will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights.

"As participation in the murder of Englishmen or Englishwomen will exclude those who are guilty of it from all mercy, so will those who have protected English lives be specially entitled to consideration and leniency."

As Mr. Strachey has remarked in his address already quoted, the history of this Proclamation was a singular one. Although not published till 1859, a copy of it had reached the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, whose critique appears in the following despatch from the Secret Committee, dated April 19, 1858 :—

“ THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE
EAST INDIA COMPANY TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA
IN COUNCIL.

“ *April 19, 1858.*

“ Our letter of the 24th March, 1858, will have put you in possession of our general views with respect to the treatment of the people in the event of the evacuation of Lucknow by the enemy.

“ 2. On the 12th instant we received from you a copy of the letter, dated the 3d of March, addressed by your Secretary to the Secretary of the Chief Commissioner in Oude, which letter enclosed a copy of the Proclamation to be issued by the Chief Commissioner as soon as the British troops should have command of the city of Lucknow, and conveyed instructions as to the manner in which he was to act with respect to different classes of persons, in execution of the views of the Governor-General.

“ 3. The people of Oude will see only the Proclamation.

“ 4. That authoritative expression of the will of the Government informs the people that six persons, who are named as having been steadfast in their allegiance, are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them ; that others in whose favour like claims may be established will have conferred upon them a proportionate measure of reward and honour ; and that with these exceptions the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British Government.

“ 5. We cannot but express to you our apprehension that this decree, pronouncing the disinherison of a people, will throw difficulties almost insurmountable in the way of the re-establishment of peace.

“ 6. We are under the impression that the war in Oude has derived much of its popular character from the rigorous manner in which, without regard to what the chief landholders had become accustomed to consider as their rights, the summary settlement had, in a large portion of the province, been carried out by your officers.

“ 7. The land-owners of India are as much attached to the soil occupied by their ancestors, and are as sensitive with respect to the rights in the soil they deem themselves to possess, as the occupiers of land in any country of which we have a knowledge.

" 8. Whatever may be your ultimate and undisclosed intentions, your Proclamation will appear to deprive the great body of the people of all hope upon the subject most dear to them as individuals, while the substitution of our rule for that of their native Sovereign has naturally excited against us whatever they may have of national feeling.

" 9. We cannot but in justice consider that those who resist our authority in Oude are under very different circumstances from those who have acted against us in provinces which have been long under our government.

" 10. We dethroned the King of Oude, and took possession of his kingdom by virtue of a treaty, which had been subsequently modified by another treaty, under which, had it been held to be in force, the course we adopted could not have been lawfully pursued; but we held that it was not in force, although the fact of its not having been ratified in England, as regarded the provision on which we rely for our justification, had not been previously made known to the King of Oude.

" 11. That Sovereign and his ancestors had been uniformly faithful to their treaty engagements with us, however ill they may have governed their subjects.

" 12. They had more than once assisted us in our difficulties, and not a suspicion had ever been entertained of any hostile disposition on their part towards our Government.

" 13. Suddenly the people saw their king taken from amongst them, and our administration substituted for his, which, however bad, was at least native; and this sudden change of government was immediately followed by a summary settlement of the revenue, which, in a very considerable portion of the province, deprived the most influential land-owners of what they deemed to be their property—of what certainly had long given wealth, and distinction, and power to their families.

" 14. We must admit that, under these circumstances, the hostilities which have been carried on in Oude have rather the character of a legitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oude should rather be regarded with indulgent consideration than made the objects of a penalty exceeding in extent and in severity almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation.

" 15. Other conquerors when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have, with a generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people.

" 16. You have acted on a different principle. You have reserved a few as deserving of special favour, and you have struck, with what they will feel as the severest of punishment, the mass of the inhabitants of the country.

“ 17. We cannot but think that the precedents from which you have departed, will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made.

“ 18. We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude.

“ 19. We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people: there cannot be contentment where there is a general confiscation.

“ 20. Government cannot long be maintained by any force in a country where the people is rendered hostile by a sense of wrong; and if it were possible so to maintain it, it would not be a consummation to be desired.”

We must return to the use made of this proclamation in the province to which it was applied.

The result of the negotiations with the talookdars in June 1858 was, that before Lord Clyde's army took the field at the close of that year, and commenced the operations the conclusion of which has been briefly described, two-thirds of the talookdars had tendered their allegiance, and estates paying to Government fifty-two lacs a year, or half the revenue of the province, had been settled with them.¹

The truth is that, as Sir Charles Wingfield and Mr. Strachey have remarked, the talookdars were treated as belligerents, not as rebels. They were invited to a conference when in arms against us, offered terms, and promised their estates on condition of their exerting themselves to restore peace and quiet in the country. It follows that the arrangement entered into with them assumes the character of a treaty made between belligerent parties, one of whom, having the upper hand and being the stronger of the two, offers peace on certain conditions, which are accepted and acted on. It has never been hinted that the talookdars did not carry out these stipulations.

Meantime, Sir Robert Montgomery had been recalled to Lahore to take up the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab, and Mr. (now Sir Charles) Wingfield was Chief

¹ Mr. Strachey's Address.

Commissioner of Oude. When in October 1859 Lord Canning made a state entry into the capital of the province, in a large durbar, to which the talookdars had been summoned to meet him, he stood up, and, with his fine sonorous voice and truly majestic manner, delivered the following address:—

“ TALOOKDARS OF OUDE,

“ I am glad to find myself in your country and amongst you, and to have this opportunity of speaking to you in the name of the Queen your Sovereign.

“ A year has not passed away since this Province was the seat of anarchy and war. The conduct of its people had been such that the Government was compelled to lay a heavy hand upon it. But peace and order are now restored to every corner of Oude, and I am come to speak to you not of the past, but of the future.

“ You have, all of you who are here present, received yesterday the grants of those estates which the Government has restored to you.

“ You will have seen by the terms of those grants that the ancient Talookdaree system of Oude is revived and perpetuated.

“ Be assured that so long as each one of you is a loyal and faithful subject and a just master, his rights and dignity as a talookdar will be upheld by me, and by every representative of your Queen, and that no man shall disturb them.

“ You will also have seen by those grants that the same rights are secured on the same conditions to your heirs for ever.

“ Let this security be an encouragement to you to spend your care, and time, and money upon the improvement of your possessions.

“ As the Government has been generous to you, so do you be generous to those who hold under you, down to the humblest tiller of the soil. Aid them by advances of money and other indulgences to increase the productiveness of the land, and set them an example of order and obedience to your rulers.

“ Let the same security in your possessions encourage you to bring up your sons in a manner befitting the position which they will hereafter occupy as the Chiefs of Oude. Learn yourselves, and teach them, to look to the Government as a father.

“ Talookdars, I trust that there are none amongst you who are so infatuated as to believe that the Government has had designs against your religion. Even if there be any such, I will not condescend to repeat the assurances which they have already received on this head. I leave it to time, and experience, and their own sense, to dispel their perverse suspicions. But for their own sakes I warn them not to be led into acts of opposition or distrust towards the Government by the false tales of designing men.

“ Lastly, talookdars, whenever in any matter you have doubts to be resolved or wishes to make known, address yourselves to the Chief Commissioner. He will tell you the truth in all things. He is the high and trusted representative of the Government in Oude, and, depend upon it, he will be your best adviser and your truest friend.

“ I wish that I could speak to you in your own language. That which I have said will now be interpreted to you, and I enjoin you to bear it in your memories.”

Meanwhile the work of disarming was being vigorously carried on throughout the province by the military police formed on the system introduced by Sir Charles Napier in Sind. Some idea of the military resources of Oude may be derived from the return of arms collected, and forts destroyed, up to the middle of August 1859. There were 684 cannon, 186,177 fire-arms, 565,321 swords, 50,311 spears, and 636,683 weapons of miscellaneous character given in. The number of forts destroyed and under course of demolition up to the same date was 1,569.

CHAPTER III.

1859 (*continued*).

The second Mutiny—Army re-organization—Peace proclamation—Lord Canning's tour—His views and policy—Lord Canning meets the chiefs in durbar—Right of adoption—Mr. Wilson—His death — Madras — Bombay — Operations on the North-West frontier.

ONE mutiny was over, and the country was just beginning to recover from the terrible effects of it, when Government were called upon to confront a second. In consequence of the great demand for European troops at the commencement of the disturbance, a large increase had been authorized to the Company's European army. There were at that period a good many men belonging to the Land Transport Corps raised at the time of the Crimean war, who were available for transfer to the Line, and from these and other sources men were shipped off to Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras—the majority of course to the first-named place—and draughted into regiments of infantry and cavalry. The men were mostly required for cavalry, and the idea was to raise regiments of light European horse, fitted especially for Indian service, where rapidity of movement and capability of making long marches are the most desirable characteristics of the cavalry soldier. In addition to this, the Indian horse is small, and not up to great weight; and as short recruits are always more readily procurable than tall ones, and it was an object to get the new regiments filled up as soon as possible, a much smaller class of men than are required by the usual enlisting standard for the

British army were taken. These new regiments, from the small stature of the men (the majority, indeed, of them were mere boys), got the nickname of "The Dumpies." They were never called, except of course in official parlance, by any other name; and when they mutinied, which they did, the event became known throughout India as "The Dumpy Mutiny."

The Dumpies were recruited from all classes, and so anxious were the military authorities to get them that no questions were asked about the antecedents of those who offered themselves to the recruiting-sergeant. An officer, writing of them from Barrackpore, remarked: "There are specimens of every shade of society among them, from the lazy boy who has left his reverend father's roof in a fit of *ennui*, to the London sharper whose last double the police nearly cut into; there are small white hands and large horny ones,—hands that can fashion saws from dinner-knives, to whom bolts and bars are a trifle; hands that still retain the deep furrows imprinted by the plough;" and the writer goes on to say, "but with all you have British hearts and sympathies." Had he stopped at the description of their physical appearance, it would have been correct. Of the hearts and sympathies the less said the better, for the whole of these men almost, seizing the opportunity when the Government were embarrassed, easily found a pretext, and demanded either their discharge or, what they really wanted and expected, a second bounty, although they had, many of them, not been in the country a year, and had scarcely passed their drill. The spirit of insubordination is most contagious; hence the necessity of speedily stamping it out directly it shows itself in an armed force. No matter whether the punishment be rather more severe than the offence requires: the latter must be weighed by its effects upon others, and not by its intrinsic turpitude. The mutiny of the native army, there is no question, might have been stamped out thus. The Dumpy mutiny, at the time it took a defined shape, viz. a demand for fresh bounty

or discharge, was the development of a spirit of insubordination that had unhappily been too long existing in the local European regiments, whose laxity of discipline used to be a matter of remark in every royal regiment that first found itself quartered in the same garrison, or encamped alongside of them. The system by which the new European regiments were officered was most faulty. Officers draughted into them from native corps, who had learnt what little they knew of discipline in sepoy regiments, where the system is totally distinct from that necessary to bring into and to keep a regiment of European soldiers in good order, were quite incapable of dealing with the unruly spirits the Indian recruiting-sergeant picked up from the population in our large towns. The Land Transport men, so many of whom came out among the Dumpies, were even in England sometimes a terror to the peaceable inhabitants of the towns in the neighbourhood of which they were quartered; and when removed to India, under the effects of a lax system of discipline and the example of older comrades, it is not to be wondered at that a spirit of insubordination showed itself. The pretence on which they put forward their claim to extra bounty was, that having engaged to serve the East India Company, and the East India Company having ceased to require their services, under the Proclamation of the 1st November, 1858, which transferred the government of India immediately to the Crown, they were entitled to their discharge, and to be sent home at the expense of the State, or to the offer of re-enlistment and a bounty, as if they had never engaged. It is hardly worth while to enter into a discussion of this question. A similar crisis is not likely to occur again, for it is scarcely possible to conceive circumstances under which an army can come into existence again under the British Crown, and yet owing primary allegiance to a body of men like the East India Company. History, it is said, repeats itself. But this chapter of English history is not at all likely ever to be repeated. Hence no practical good

would result from a reconsideration of the arguments adduced by the men to show they were entitled to claim their discharge. It was said at the time that some lawyers among them had put them up to asserting the right. But this is a very bad compliment to the profession, for there was very little law in the matter at all. The truth is, the men saw their opportunity; they knew the Government were embarrassed; the new recruits did not like the country sufficiently to care about staying in it, and the older men were tired of it, and anxious to get home.

The time and place selected for the demonstration were singular. The place was Meerut, and the time the month of May 1859, just two years all but nine days after the mutiny of the native army had commenced there. There was no open violence, nothing beyond a passive resistance to authority. A similar demonstration took place at Allahabad; the reply to the question, what was the men's grievance, being on each occasion the same, "that they had been made over like animals, or like goods and chattels, from the Company to the Crown," and they demanded their discharge and passage home, or bounty for re-enlisting.

At Berham-pore — another coincidental connexion, as regards locality, between the mutiny of 1857 and that of 1859 — the men of the 5th European regiment proceeded to open violence, seized the barracks, and defied their officers, and a royal regiment and a couple of guns had to be sent up from Barrackpore to quell the mutinous spirit. Happily, there was no necessity for testing the much-debated point whether the royals would fire on their fellow-countrymen if ordered. I think there would have been little difficulty in quelling the mutiny had they proceeded to extremities, because the feeling in the royal regiments was sufficiently good to have justified the confidence reposed in them by their officers. Still it would have been a terrible thing if we had been forced, in the moment of victory over a common foe, to turn our arms against a section of our own countrymen; and rather than run the risk of a consum-

mation so terrible, the Government at once gave in to the demands of the mutineers. But to suppose that Government yielded to anything but brute force, that there was the least shadow of admission that the claim was a just one, is a mistake. It was said at the time by many who used to take the part of the discontented men, that they would have been well content to transfer their services without any fresh bounty, if they had only been asked in a proper manner; and that a paragraph in the Queen's Proclamation, complimenting the army for their past services, and announcing that they were transferred to the direct service of the Crown, would have been sufficient. But men, when they want money, and think they see the means of getting it, are not usually contented with fine words and soft speeches. It is quite true that there was rather a remarkable omission of any mention of the army's past services in the Proclamation; but to hold that this would afford the faintest shadow of justification for the inexcusable conduct of the men is absurd.

The most singular part of the story is the extraordinary bungling that went on at head-quarters. Much as the Dumpies wanted extra bounty, they did not want bloodshed. There were among them, however, a number of unprincipled villains who were not likely to be restrained by anything short of violence. So that it was a relief to all when active operations assumed the innocuous character of courts of inquiry and committees. The Government were beaten, but they were determined not to be thoroughly beaten, like a little boy who, when a big bully has seized him and demanded all his marbles, has enough spirit and enough liberty left to elect whether he shall give up his marbles or his top; and so, as the bully had demanded one thing, his victim resolved he should have another. The mutineers had grounded their demands on the plea, that having been enlisted to serve the Company they were not bound to serve the Crown; and accordingly, when the Government said, "Very well, then, we grant you your

passage home and a free discharge," they could not consistently refuse to take what was offered, though it was not what most of them wanted and expected. At the same time, they were distinctly assured that they should not be re-enlisted. This order was subsequently so far modified that, men being required for the China war, an offer was made to all who had not compromised themselves by insubordinate conduct, of a bounty of fifty rupees per man, on condition of their re-enlisting for ten years. Very few, however, availed themselves of this offer. It would have been a dangerous experiment for a few individuals to have enlisted into old regiments, where they would have been marked men. With the exception of a very few who accepted the terms, the whole body, some seven thousand, were sent home at the public expense.

In spite, however, of the determination of Government communicated to the men, that they should never be re-enlisted, the greater number—all who wished, at least—were re-engaged a short time after they reached England; so that in point of fact Government paid twice over to the demands of these men, sending them home first of all, and then giving them the very thing they had asserted their right to, and which Government had declared they should never have at any price,—bounty on re-engagement.

To complete this bungling, no sooner had the country been rid of the troublesome Dumpies, than our rulers bethought themselves how to reward the men of the old Indian army, who had remained staunch to their colours and set a good example to their younger comrades, and determined, strangely enough, upon rewarding them with the boon of two years' service. This, of course, made a number of old soldiers, who were just then particularly valuable to the State, entitled to their discharge, which they took, and had to be sent to England at the expense of the public purse.

The necessity of making some radical change in the constitution of the army in India had become apparent long

before these proceedings attracted public notice. And on the 15th July, 1858, a royal commission had been convened to take evidence and opinions of experienced officers, with a view to a re-organization of the whole military system. The members of this committee were the Duke of Cambridge, General Peel, Lord Stanley, the Marquis of Tweeddale, Viscount Malcolm, Sir Henry G. Smith, Sir G. Wetherall, Major-Generals Montgomerie and Hancock, and Colonels Burlton and Tait.

Nearly ten years have elapsed since the committee recorded its opinions, and every year's experience has strengthened the doubts of those who watched, from an impartial point of view, the policy pursued, in its soundness and expediency. Writing in 1869 of what commenced in 1859, and has been completed since, I may safely affirm that public opinion in India characterises the army amalgamation as a failure. Each step taken to fuse the two systems has resulted in developing some new difficulty and demonstrating the impossibility of uniting irreconcilable interests. The measures adopted to effect the union will be described in some detail further on. But the volume of orders and counter-orders, modifications, amendments, incessant interference with vested rights and subsequent concessions, inextricable confusion of local lists, staff corps, and regimental cadres, bears testimony in the shape of a matted mass of complications to the hopelessness of the task most imprudently attempted.

The Committee sent in their report on the 7th March, 1859, and the same year the first step towards the new system was taken in the notification that future appointments to the Indian army should be made subject to any alterations it might be found necessary to make on the basis of the report of the commission.¹

This report was not conclusive. The royal officers were in favour of an amalgamated army; the old Company's

¹ General Order, No. 1637 of 1859, quoting Secretary of State's letter, No. 343, 30 Sept. 1859.

officers inclined to a separate local army. The matter was debated in the House of Commons, and the majority voted for a continuance of the separate force.

The question was in this unsettled condition when the news of the mutiny of the European troops on the bounty and discharge question reached home, and this had the effect of turning the balance. It was then decided not to retain the local army as a separate force, but to amalgamate the two.

The official announcement of the termination of the rebellion was made in a proclamation of the Viceroy dated 8th July of this year, on which occasion a day was appointed for public thanksgiving in the cathedral at Calcutta. The Proclamation runs thus :—

“The restoration of peace and tranquillity to the Queen’s dominions in India makes it the grateful duty of the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council to direct that a day be appointed for a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for His signal mercies and protection.

“War is at an end. Rebellion is put down. The noise of arms is no longer heard where the enemies of the State have persisted in their last struggle: the presence of large forces in the field has ceased to be necessary. Order is re-established, and peaceful pursuits have everywhere been resumed.

“The Viceroy and Governor-General in Council desires that Thursday the 28th July be observed as a day of general thanksgiving for those great blessings, and as a holiday throughout British India by all faithful subjects of the Queen.

“Especially his Excellency in Council invites all her Majesty’s Christian subjects to join in a humble offering of gratitude and praise to Almighty God for the many mercies vouchsafed to them.

“The Bishop of Calcutta will be requested to prepare a form of prayers to be used on the day above-mentioned by the congregations under his Lordship’s spiritual authority.”

As soon as the cessation of the monsoons would permit, the Viceroy left Calcutta for the Upper Provinces, then for the first time visited by him. His main object, no doubt, was to have an opportunity of meeting as many of the native chiefs and princes as could be assembled at the different places where he halted during his progress, and thanking those among them who had been conspicuous in their loyalty publicly, in *darbar*, for their services. It was also his object, doubtless, to make himself personally acquainted with the principal officers, civil and military, with whom he had been in official communication during the continuance of the war. He must have felt, too, an anxious desire to see with his own eyes the localities now famous to all time for deeds of heroism and valour and endurance. Nor was there wanting, probably, the idea of removing, by personal intercourse with as large a portion of the European community in Upper India as was practicable, some of that unpopularity with which he could not but be conscious he was regarded. A man in the position of Viceroy of India may, if he chooses, shut his ears to the voice of the people, and, confident in his own theory of administration—correct perhaps according to principles of political economy recognised as sound in European countries—silence with the iron hand of despotism the protests and remonstrances of a subject race, who feel that they are not understood. But few Englishmen are by nature tyrants or despots, unless they are men whose feelings have been blunted and views narrowed by a long career of official life passed among a people educated in the habits of abject submission and servile flattery, which in Oriental countries it is supposed the ruling class have a right to exact. A large-hearted and conscientious statesman like Lord Canning will ever consider it a proof of successful administration that he has the sympathy and attachment of the classes over whom he has been placed to rule. At the time Lord Canning left Calcutta for the Upper Provinces, he was probably the most unpopular man that ever

held office in that country. As far as public opinion in Upper India was concerned, much of this feeling had undergone a change when he returned to Calcutta. People were astonished to find in the courteous nobleman, whose every feature bore the stamp of deep thought and intellect and feeling, whose gentlemanly and dignified demeanour contrasted so favourably with the stiffness and *hautcur* of high Indian officials, the man who had been represented as vacillating in council, dilatory in action, unsympathising, cold and selfish in the midst of the terrible disaster that had swept over the country.

There is no doubt his views underwent a considerable change after his tour in the North-West. He then learnt, for the first time, what India really was, and how impossible it is for a Viceroy whose experience is confined to the limits of Calcutta, to realize the difficulty of governing so vast a country, containing so many different races, with so many varied and conflicting interests to be balanced. Lord Elgin is said to have felt the same, and to have expressed, after a journey of eight hundred miles in the interior, his astonishment at finding the real condition of the country so different from the idea of it he had gathered among his councillors at Government House.

Had Lord Canning, with the breadth of view that unquestionably characterised him, made in the beginning of 1857 the tour he accomplished in the end of 1859, he would have realized the 'nature of the danger that confronted him on the outbreak of the rebellion. He would have realized, what none can realize without seeing it, the risk to which small isolated communities of Europeans are exposed in settlements scattered a long distance apart throughout Upper India. He would have seen the enormous capacity for mischief a large organized body of men like the native army possess when infected with a rebellious spirit. In Calcutta, surrounded with a large European and American population, within sight of a forest of masts belonging to ships from every quarter of the world, where

every sight and sound indicates the activity of commerce, and an intimate connexion with foreign countries, a statesman straight from home, with all his English ideas of the force of law and order, could not, and never can, realize the defenceless position of small isolated European communities throughout the Mofussil. Lord Canning was new to the country, but he was surrounded with advisers who had the experience of thirty years' residence to lend weight to their counsels. In an evil moment he confided in them; yet he had no reason to doubt their prudence. The brilliant career of his predecessor had closed amid the congratulations of his fellow-countrymen. With the assistance and advice of similar counsellors, Lord Dalhousie had reached the pinnacle of a glorious and successful administration. He had never to complain of the want of experienced advisers, or of being misled by those whose duty it was to instruct him. It was not likely—was it possible?—that these officials, who had served through a long and honourable career in the country, would not be better able than a new-comer to discern the signs of approaching danger, if danger there were.

There is no training more prejudicial to the politician or statesman than departmental. Even in Europe or America, no politician whose whole career had been spent in the groove of official life, who had risen step by step from the position of a clerk to that of the head of a department, would ever be found fitted for the post of premier or president. Intimate acquaintance with details of office work is valuable in the head of a department. But real statesmanship—and an Indian viceroy, to be successful, should be a statesman of the first water—requires breadth of view and a capacity for generalizing, and the faculty of recognising the due weight to be given to conflicting interests and the double side of every question, which it is the whole tendency of official life to eliminate. A successful soldier is far more likely to turn out an able viceroy than a successful civilian. For although the former may have

had no experience of civil administration, and no knowledge of law, his career will necessarily have brought him into contact with men of all parties and classes, and have taught him to exercise unfettered judgment in great emergencies, under the guidance of general principles, while his broad experience of the world will have induced a habit of looking at questions on every side and from divers points of view. For the details of administration, he can, and ought to be, dependent upon others, but only for details. The evil Lord Canning was exposed to, was that he was forced by the nature of the emergency in which he found himself involved to depend on others for more than details. When the crisis came upon him, he dared not trust his own judgment, all ignorant as he was of the country and of the nature of the danger that beset him. And in depending on his councillors for advice on broad questions of policy, he had to work with tools but ill-adapted for the purpose for which he used them. In official details of departmental routine, his council might and probably would have directed him aright. As it was, they were incapable of dealing with anything beyond mere details, and the responsibility of action lay on him.

In November 1859 Lord Canning met the principal chiefs of Rajpootana at a grand durbar at Agra, on which occasion he addressed them collectively and individually, thanking them for services rendered, and conveying the assurance of Her Majesty's favour, and conferring on several of the most loyal and deserving gifts, remissions of debts, distinctions, &c. This durbar, however, is famous for the promulgation of a great principle in England's future policy towards India and her chiefs.

It is generally supposed, and indeed it has been of late so often stated in speeches and in books, that it is no wonder it has become an article of belief, that this durbar was the first occasion upon which the right of adoption by native chiefs was officially and publicly recognised. Yet Lord Amherst, in 1825, in an address to the chiefs of

Rajpootana, dated the 10th January, thus wrote: "The government of the several provinces and chiefs who now rule their own territories should be perpetuated, and the dignity of their houses continued. I hereby, in fulfilment of this desire, convey to you the assurance that, on failure of natural heirs, the British Government will recognise and confirm any adoption of a successor made by yourselves, or by any future chief of your state, that may be in accordance with Mahommedan law¹ and the customs of your race."

This right, however, had of late years been persistently denied to the independent chiefs till Lord Canning intimated its restitution in 1859, in the case of the Maharaja of Gwalior. This chief, not by virtue of his standing among the independent princes of Central India and Rajpootana, but by virtue of the extent of his territories, of his revenues, and of his resources generally—and partly, perhaps, because the Government more or less anxiously watched the nature of his policy—was honoured with a seat in the durbar equal in rank with that of the Maharaja of Jeypore, the representative of one of the first Rajpoot families.

I have annexed the short addresses delivered by Lord Canning to the Maharajas of Gwalior, Jeypore, and Alwar, three of the principal chiefs, as specimens of his style, and because in one of them, that to the Gwalior sovereign, the admission of the principle of the recognition of adopted heirs is prominently stated.

To the Maharaja of Gwalior he said :—

" MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR :

" It is with no ordinary pleasure that I receive your Highness in this assembly, in the presence of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and of many distinguished officers of the armies of India, of many high officers of the Civil Service, and other English gentlemen, and before many loyal native subjects of the Queen.

¹ The Mahommedan law is here specified, but there appears no reason why it should not be extended to Hindoos.

"I am glad to receive your Highness at Agra. It was from Agra that, a few days after the outbreak of rebellion, I received the news of your prompt and loyal tender to the Lieutenant-Governor, the lamented Mr. Colvin, of the services of the most trusty of your own personal guard.

"It was from Agra that, twelve months later, when the brunt of the rebellion had fallen at last upon Gwalior, a portion of that army marched which under Sir Hugh Rose drove back your enemies, and reentered you within twenty days in the palace of your capital.

"These were the opening and the closing scenes of the rebellion in the neighbourhood of this city. During the year which intervened, and since that time, you have earnestly supported the British Government with your whole strength, and in everything have shown yourself mindful of the ties which bind you to it.

"As the Head of that Government, I thank you heartily.

"I now make known to your Highness, that in remembrance of the good services which you have rendered, and to increase your authority and dignity, lands to the annual value of three lacs will be added to your territory, and the limitation which is imposed upon the number of your infantry troops will be extended; that the arrears due from your Government on account of the assigned districts are remitted; and that henceforward no payment will be claimed from your Highness' Government when the proceeds of those districts fall short of the sum stipulated by the Treaty of Gwalior.

"I have already told your Highness that if, unhappily, lineal heirs shall fail you, the Government will see with pleasure your adoption of a successor according to the rules and traditions of your family. Your Highness and all your Highness' subjects may be sure that it is the earnest desire of the Paramount Power that the loyal and princely house of Scindia shall be perpetuated and flourish.

"I expect, and I am sure that I shall not be disappointed, that your Highness will continue to apply all the energies of your Government, civil and military, to enforcing peace, and giving contentment to the country under your rule."

To the Maharaja of Jeypore :—

"MAHARAJA OF JEYPORE :

"The presence at this durbar of yourself, a prince sprung from the oldest and noblest families of Rajpootana, and a faithful and zealous feudatory of the British Crown, is very gratifying to me.

"The territory of Jeypore was less continually harassed by the rebellion than many others; but occasions were not wanting to you in which to show your signal loyalty.

"When the rebel force approached your capital and called upon you to surrender the British officers in it, your answer was, 'Come and take them.' When the Political Agent was absent on distant duties, you gave a careful and considerate protection to his family.

"When opportunity offered, you sent in safety to this city of Agra, and under an escort of your own, fifty Christian lives.

"You have done all in your power to aid the British troops, by keeping open the communications through your country.

"In recognition of these services I desire your acceptance of the *pergunnah* of Kote Kasim as an addition to your territory. It was lately an appanage of the King of Delhi, by whose treason and rebellion against the British power it has been forfeited. In adding it to your possessions I feel certain that I place it for ever in loyal hands.

"I desire to take this opportunity of publicly thanking your Highness and the Jeypore Durbar for the faithful performance of its promises and of the wishes of the British Government, in steadily suppressing *suttee* within your territory, and in allowing no abuse of the right of sanctuary by murderers and robbers."

To the Maharaja of Alwar:—

"MAHA RAO RAJA OF ALWAR :

"You are welcome to this *darbar* for your father's sake.

"There was no better ruler in Rajpootana, and no more faithful feudatory of the Queen, than Bumree Singh.

"In his last illness he sent his best troops to the support of the British Government, and many of them were killed in the discharge of that duty at no great distance from this city.

"I regret to think that he did not live to see their death avenged.

"You are very young to be left alone as the inheritor of the rule of an ancient state.

"I know that you have had bad advisers, and that you have been misled by them. But these men have been removed from you, and now I enjoin you to use the time which must elapse before you can begin to govern, so as to show by your conduct that the Governor-General of India need not hesitate to recognise and support your authority when that time arrives.

"Walk in your father's footsteps, and you will be certain of that support. Guide yourself by the advice of the Governor-General's agent, Major Eden, and of the Political Agent, and receive the counsel which I have given to you in the friendly spirit in which it is spoken.

"The guns of your father's force which were lost shall be returned to the Alwar State if possible; if not, I will send others."

These addresses were delivered with all the majesty of expression and demeanour which Lord Canning knew so well how to throw into his public acts. Translations of them were subsequently read out by Mr. Beadon, then Foreign Secretary, in a low and inaudible tone, conspicuous for the absence of the qualities that distinguished Lord Canning's style. None of the chiefs could have heard or understood a word of what the Secretary read, though, of course, they were supplied with copies of the addresses, which they could study at their leisure.

There is no question that this measure—the recognition of the much-valued right of adoption—was a highly politic one. The independent princes of India had been watching too long the process of absorption. One after another they saw the territories of their fellow-chiefs lapse and fall into the apparently insatiable vortex of the British Indian Empire. The concession, if made during the war, would have been looked upon as made under the pressure of necessity, and liable to be cancelled on the restoration of British power. The privilege admitted now was a graceful concession made at a time when the British power was stronger than it had ever been before, and there could be no grounds for the most jealous to suspect that once granted it would ever be rescinded. It is a sort of “*Magna Charta*,” a guarantee of independence and political life, to all the petty states that repose in peace and security like shrubs beneath the branches of the great tree which spreads the shelter of its foliage over the whole of Hindustan.

At the close of 1859, Mr. Wilson arrived in Calcutta to take charge of the department of Indian finance, and, with the view of acquiring some personal knowledge of the resources of the country, made a rapid tour from Calcutta to the Upper Provinces, passing a few hours at each of the larger stations ; where, in communication with the principal officials, he endeavoured to gather such ideas and information as might be imparted in a hurried visit or an after-dinner conversation. Thus primed, he returned to Calcutta

to take his seat at the Council Board, there to inaugurate those measures of reform which were so loudly called for in the most difficult department of political economy. Those measures will hereafter be alluded to more in detail when we come to the subject of finance. The early and lamented death of this eminent man prevented him from completing the work which he may be said scarcely to have begun, ere he sunk, under the influence of the climate of Bengal and the weight of anxious public cares, into an untimely grave. He died on the 9th August, 1860, of acute dysentery.

There is little of imperial interest to record in the progress of events in the minor presidencies during the year under review: except, indeed, in Madras, where Sir Charles Trevelyan—who assumed the governorship of that province early in the year, in succession to Lord Harris, whose tenure of office had expired—began early to exhibit that spirit of independence, or, as in a less important office it would be called, insubordination, which led to his early recall.

Unimpeded by the rebellion which had checked progress in the northern parts of India, the Madras Government was enabled throughout the year to proceed with their works of general improvement. Bombay, owing to its geographical position, and the comparative sympathy of a section of its native army with the movement which had disturbed all Upper India, was less unruffled than the sister presidency. But the political condition of the presidency, at that time under the administration of Lord Elphinstone, presented no feature of importance in an imperial point of view.

In the North-West Provinces, ever since the death of Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, who succumbed to anxiety and the pressure of work during the height of the rebellion in the Agra fort, until the commencement of this year, the office of Lieutenant-Governor had remained vacant. In January of this year it was filled by the appointment of Mr. Edmonstone, a civilian of standing and experience,

who had for many years served in the Punjab under the Lawrence administration, and subsequently as Foreign Secretary to Lord Canning. In February, Sir John Lawrence retired from the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab, and his place was filled by Sir R. Montgomery.

Towards the close of the year, some military operations were undertaken on the frontier of the Derajat, the territory west of the Indus, in consequence of the cowardly murder of an officer (Captain Mecham), who, while travelling from Kohat, fell a victim to the bloodthirsty fanaticism of the tribes inhabiting the mountain ranges that border our north-west frontier. A force of about 4,000 men and 13 guns, besides police and levies, was placed under the command of Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain. This force, which was called the "Koorum field force," entered the hills from Dera Ismail Khan in the month of December, and on the 22d engaged the enemy, defeating them with the loss of about fifty men, and driving them from their supposed impregnable position in the mountains. Captain Henderson, with a party of irregular cavalry, pursued them, capturing 5,000 sheep, besides bullocks and camels. The expedition was so far successful that the chief of the gang of murderers was delivered up, and the tribe who had concealed the criminals were punished by the destruction of their prestige among their own people, besides the loss of the best of their councillors and warriors, and property to the amount of 25,000 rupees.

CHAPTER IV.

1860.

Sir Charles Trevelyan at Madras—The income-tax—Sir C. Trevelyan's protest—His recall—Lord Clyde—His successor—Army reform—The indigo disturbances in Bengal—Famine in Upper India—Resuscitation of Secundra settlement—The Disarming Act—Right of adoption conceded generally—Military operations—Darjeeling.

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN, who had been associated with Mr. Wilson in the Treasury Office in London before the latter was appointed to the post of Financial Member of Council, assumed the reins of government in the Madras Presidency at the close of the previous year. That the income-tax, with which Mr. Wilson's name is now historically associated, did not take Sir Charles Trevelyan by surprise is certain, for Mr. Wilson had stopped at Madras on his way to Calcutta, and in a conference with his late colleague had intimated the general outlines of the scheme which he would seem somewhat prematurely to have resolved upon adopting. I say prematurely, because at that period of his career it is certain Mr. Wilson lacked that personal experience of India which is so necessary to a successful administration of its affairs. Lord Canning had, previously to Mr. Wilson's arrival, proposed a licence-tax, which met with so much opposition both in council and out of doors, principally because it exempted officials, that it was abandoned—at least its character was changed to an income-tax. But the Council was not in accord, and eventually the matter was allowed to stand over till Mr. Wilson's arrival. Still something had been done to meet

the emergency. The first budget ever published in India was issued by Lord Canning in 1859, showing a deficit of five millions. To meet this he had recourse to a five and a half per cent. loan, the duty on Malwa opium was doubled, and the salt-tax was raised eight annas a maund (a shilling per eighty pounds) in Bengal and the North-West. The proposition to extend the measure on the same terms throughout India was vehemently and successfully opposed by the Governments of Madras and Bombay. Mr. Wilson, shortly after his arrival, published an amended budget, which showed a deficit at the close of 1859 of nine and a half millions, and of six and a half for 1859-60. This was exclusive of the reductions effected in the item of military charges, and of the increase in the inland revenue from the Custom and Excise.

But the most prominent feature in Mr. Wilson's policy was the income-tax, an impost up to that time unknown in India. It not unnaturally excited a good deal of opposition, and no small amount of apprehension among the natives, who would have submitted contentedly to a poll-tax, but saw, in an impost levied proportionately upon their incomes, the shadow of some great engine of oppression. Investigation into the worldly means and possessions of wealthy men had too often in former days, and in native states in more recent times, been followed by arbitrary exactions, for them to feel comfortable under the prospect. The poll-tax, which is a tax that falls equally upon rich and poor, and is consequently on all now recognised principles of political economy justly regarded as a remnant of barbarism, and a licence-tax exacted in some shape under former *régimes*, were the only forms of direct taxation with which the natives were familiar. With forced payments, levied by despotic rulers, they were by tradition familiar enough. And there is some reason to believe that they supposed this new tax upon incomes would assume the shape of those arbitrary exactions which were common under native rule. Experience has shown that the income-

tax is an impost unsuited to the country. It may be doubted if all direct taxation is not peculiarly unsuited to a population like that of India. If Mr. Wilson had learnt anything of the country and the people before forming any conclusions as to the measures to be adopted, it is probable that the income-tax would have been the last expedient to which he would have thought of resorting. But we are all apt to cling tenaciously to our preconceived ideas, and having once fixed in his own mind that an income-tax was calculated to meet the necessities of the case, it was not likely that the meagre information subsequently acquired during his rapid tour in Upper India, and communication with the officials in Calcutta and elsewhere, would lead to a change of purpose.

Sir C. Trevelyan and the Madras Council vigorously opposed the measure, and forwarded their protest to the Legislative Council in Calcutta. This protest was received on the 9th of April, and a reply drawn up by Mr. Wilson was forwarded on the 14th of the same month, and the income-tax bill was read a second time. Lord Elphinstone supported the Madras Government in remonstrating against the measure, but in vain. Had the Governor of Madras confined himself to protesting in council against the policy of the legislature, the matter would have ended probably with a reprimand from the Home Government, and an exhortation to the duty of obedience. It would seem, however, as if a spirit of insubordination had affected the whole political atmosphere about that time; or as if there were a sort of moral epidemic abroad, one symptom of which was a tendency to resist authority. During 1857 the disastrous news of the mutiny of a regiment, or the revolt of a district, had been so frequently repeated that the phrase that such and such a regiment, or station, or province "had gone," passed into a popular idiom. The natives had the same slang term in use, substituting for the English expression one signifying "has turned round." And when Sir C. Trevelyan took the unwonted course of

publishing his protest against the income-tax in the newspapers of the Madras presidency, the journals in the other presidencies sounded the alarm in the well-known words that "Madras had gone." And so it had—in an Indian sense. In former days, under the Mogul empire, a similar exhibition of independence from a Soubahdar, or governor of a distant province, might be expected to be speedily followed by some overt act of rebellion. A protest against an imperial measure, such as the imposition of a tax, published in the newspaper, was an appeal to public opinion which was altogether strange and hideous to a Government so thoroughly opposed to the expression of any public feeling at all as that of India. It was as near an approach to a declaration of independence on the part of a satrap of a minor presidency as could well be made. If followed up to its natural conclusions, in the native mind, it would be regarded as little less than a declaration of contemplated resistance. And the most absurd and *bizarre* feature of the whole affair was, that such a course of action should be taken by Sir C. Trevelyan of all people in the world—a man noted for his haughty unswerving disregard of public opinion. There was no other single member of the government in the whole of India from whom such a policy might not have sooner been expected than from the conservative civilian governor of the Madras presidency. No motive has ever been assigned for this unwonted procedure, no explanation ever offered of the eccentric phenomenon. That the despatch was communicated to the press by Sir Charles himself has never been denied. It was only in the latter part of 1859 that Lord Canning had to combat a contumacious spirit of independence in his own Legislative Council, who, over-estimating their own powers, had assumed some of the functions of a House of Commons, and demanded, before passing a bill to raise duties and impose taxes, such a return as the House of Representatives would, under the British Constitution, be entitled to demand. The Council was speedily scolded into submission, and were taught that

their proper functions were to act merely as a machine to carry out the views of the Government itself. More recently, as will be seen below, the newly-constituted Council, after having every vestige of independence carefully eradicated, have been taught that even an independent expression of opinion is beyond their privilege. Still, whatever may be the powers of the Legislative Council, there can be no question that, constituted as the Indian Government is, Sir Charles Trevelyan's conduct in appealing to the public was in him wholly unjustifiable, and might, under other circumstances, have seriously embarrassed the Administration.

Lord Canning, who had lived through two outbreaks of insubordination, and was at the time snatching a little repose at Simla, must have beheld with dismay not altogether unmixed with amusement the appearance of the epidemic in the Madras Government. The crisis, however, was serious enough to force him at once to leave the cool breezes of the Himalayas and the rest he so much needed, and hurry to Calcutta, whence he forwarded a despatch to the Secretary of State, which was followed, as every one foresaw it would be, by Sir Charles Trevelyan's immediate recall. He was replaced by the Governor of Ceylon, Sir Henry Ward, who unhappily succumbed to cholera shortly after his arrival, and added another to the list of eminent men who about this time fell victims to the unhealthy influence of the Indian climate.

Another important office changed hands during the year. In June 1860 Lord Clyde, with his honours thick upon him, retired, and was succeeded by Sir Hugh Rose, now Lord Strathnairn. Lord Clyde had come to India for an especial purpose. He came to quell the rebellion, and he remained at his post till the last spark had been trampled out. That the genius of a general is to be measured by his success is an axiom in history; and in accomplishing the task which he undertook, with such prompt obedience to Her Majesty's wishes in declaring his readiness to start for

India the day following his acceptance of the post, he fully justified the confidence placed in him. But the tide had begun to turn before he took the field. Lord Clyde's *spécialité* was caution. And in one instance—the operations for the relief of Lucknow, and the rescue of the non-combatant portion of the garrison and the invalids—probably it would have been difficult to have selected an officer better qualified by the peculiar bent of his genius for the work in hand. In other and subsequent operations it cannot be denied, by an impartial writer, that although success attended Lord Clyde's efforts, that success was dearly purchased by the appalling loss of valuable lives, who fell not by the bullet and the cannon of the enemy, but by exposure to the climate, an exposure occasioned by the dilatoriness of the Commander-in-Chief in taking the field. When it is considered how much had been done to trample down the rebellion before Lord Clyde landed, how many successes had been gained by officers who had at their disposal not one tithe of the resources which Lord Clyde brought to bear against a foe already weakened by the loss of their prestige, already beaten in many an open field, driven out of Delhi, and held at bay at Lucknow, it is impossible not to find some justification for the impatience and discontent which three months of inaction at that critical period gave rise to in the army and among the public in India generally. In the difficult operations for the relief of Lucknow, and the rescue of the beleaguered garrison, Lord Clyde was surrounded by some of the best officers in the service, and no doubt he profited much by their counsel and advice. Still any attempt to rob him, upon whom would have fallen the blame of failure, of the credit of success is to be deprecated. The skill with which such a host of helpless people were extricated from the Residency in the presence of a numerous and desperate enemy cannot be too highly lauded. And had Lord Clyde after that object had been accomplished retired, and left to more active men the remaining conduct of the campaign, he

would have carried with him the grateful admiration of all classes. But from the end of 1857 to March 1858, when the hot sun began to tell upon the troops, he remained inactive. Both at the capture of Lucknow and in the Rohilcund campaign his over-cautious movements allowed the enemy to escape, and sacrificed our own soldiers, not to the genius of war, but to the rays of the sun. A future biographer of Lord Clyde or of Lord Canning may, perhaps, be in a position to produce some proofs that the policy of the war was directed, not as it usually is by the genius of the commander and the force of circumstances, but by some secret instructions, which among other things contained restrictions as to the loss which was to be inflicted on the enemy. When nations are engaged in a deadly struggle for mastery, it is usual to make the destruction of the enemy the main object of offensive operations. Compared with the exertions put forward by the British Government, with the expenditure, with the resources at Lord Clyde's disposal—and compared, too, with the provocation the English nation had received from the treacherous sepoys of the Bengal army—the loss inflicted upon them in the campaign of 1857-58 and 1859 was ludicrously small. At Lucknow and Bareilly, the two places where, in the latter part of the campaign, the rebellion chiefly concentrated itself, and where by an active commander really intent on the business of war the destruction of the mutineers might have been almost certainly accomplished, beyond the ordinary casualties of an action fought by an enemy that exposes itself as little as possible, the whole rebel army got off scot-free. If it was Lord Clyde's object to let them get off scot-free, if he had secret orders to conduct his movements on such a plan that the enemy should suffer as little as possible compatible with their defeat, then none can gainsay his right to the credit of success. But the public, who knew nothing of the existence of such secret orders, and who take for granted that a large and well-appointed army, placed in the field at an enormous

expense, is there for the purpose to which warlike operations are usually directed, who saw the reconquest of the disturbed districts postponed day after day, week after week, month after month, and then effected under circumstances when the sufferings and losses of our own troops were at the maximum, while those encountered by the enemy were at the minimum, will hesitate ere they join in according to Lord Clyde a rank among great English generals.

The same feature of Lord Clyde's character—caution—led him sometimes to treat his general officers who acted under him, to say the least, unfairly. In conducting military operations in concert with them he always had a preponderating force under his immediate control, while he expected his officers in independent command, though co-operating in the general plan of the campaign, to accomplish important results with very inadequate means. He was said to be very jealous of the reputation of his subordinate officers, and did not always award that meed of merit which was their due. He was too short a time at the head of the army to inaugurate any of the reforms in the military service that became necessary by the breaking up of the old system. And the bungling that took place on the bounty and discharge question, and the European mutiny, is not attributable to him so much as to the Supreme Government—although, of course, they were guided in some measure by the advice and opinions of the Commander-in-Chief. Some allusion has already been made to the ability evinced by his successor, Sir Hugh Rose, when referring to his achievements in the field. But Sir Hugh Rose's genius for command was not confined to the active operations of a campaign. No sooner had he taken charge, than he set his vigorous intellect to work to effect those internal reforms which the army at that time much needed. Endowed with marvellous physical powers, great activity, and unflagging energy, he soon made all classes feel that they had a commander over them of no ordinary calibre. To improve

the condition of the soldier, his quarters, his rations; to find occupation to relieve the tedious monotony of barrack life; to reward merit, and, by making it the stepping-stone to promotion, to kindle a healthy spirit of zeal and emulation; to revive discipline; to force officers to learn their duty,—were the ends to which he devoted the enormous energies of his mind and body. Nor did he do so in vain. At first he met with obstruction from dull apathy, and that spirit of conservatism that runs through every branch of the administration, and is seen in all the relations of life, in India. The much-needed reforms he tried to introduce were called crotchets. His insisting on discipline was the temper and spirit of a martinet. The old Indian school of military officers, long unused to interference so that their returns and muster-rolls were duly signed, opposed him in every way they could. But he forced obedience. Riding immense distances, accompanied by one or two of his staff and a flying camp, he personally inspected almost every body of troops in the presidency. From morning to night there was one thought uppermost in his mind, and that was the reform of the army, the infusion of a healthy spirit of zeal and emulation, and the improvement of the condition of the private soldier. For years accustomed to see patronage distributed in accordance with the system in vogue—a system at its height in the latter part of Lord Gough's and Sir W. Gomm's time, under which successful "simpering in Simla saloons," and petticoat influence, intrigue, and favouritism, had far more to say to the selection of officers for commands and appointments than gallant conduct in the field, or the display of genius and ability—the Indian military world received with a sneer of disbelief the declaration published by the new Commander-in-Chief, that with him patronage should go by merit, and by merit only. For the first two years he was most unpopular. But by degrees the tide turned in his favour, and before he laid down the cares and emoluments of office, those who had been foremost in abusing him acknowledged that he had worked

wonders, confessed that the reforms which were at first so unpalatable were needed, and the general opinion in military circles proclaimed him the best Commander-in-Chief India had seen at the head of the army within the memory of the present generation. He was succeeded in the command of the Bombay army by Sir William Mansfield. This officer held the responsible position of chief of the staff to Lord Clyde, a new appointment, up to that time unknown in India or the British army generally. Those who pretend to be behind the scenes are fond of declaring that it was to Sir William Mansfield's genius that Lord Clyde was indebted for the plan of his campaign. Without going so far as this, it may safely be assumed that Lord Clyde derived much assistance from the experience and administrative ability which Sir William Mansfield unquestionably possesses. It is to be regretted that on succeeding Lord Strathnairn, he evinced too little of his predecessor's energy in completing the beneficial measures which the expiration of that officer's period of command, in 1865, left unfinished.

The province of Bengal Proper, which had remained comparatively free from disturbances during the rebellion, was destined to be agitated by the violent rupture of the indigo system in 1859-60. That the province escaped the horrors of civil war in 1857, was mainly due to the energetic action of Mr. W. Tayler, the Commissioner of Patna, who, by his timely arrest of a dangerous conspiracy, struck such terror into the disaffected classes that they never ventured upon any overt act of rebellion. How this officer was rewarded by professional ruin for his services, as public men often are when they anticipate a crisis and strike too soon, or, deeming prevention to be better than cure, inundate the house with water before the fire has made head at all, is an episode of the mutiny that belongs to a period anterior to that which is the subject of these pages. But that the indigo disturbances were not accompanied by bloodshed, or by outrages on person and property, is due

to the character of the Bengalee rather than to the nature of the wrong complained of, and the extent to which feelings were affected. Sufficient time has elapsed since the occurrence to enable us to take a more unprejudiced and comprehensive view of the cause of quarrel than was possible at the time, or even for a year or two afterwards, when both parties were so much incensed against each other that it was most difficult to extract from the special pleading of partisans the real facts of the dispute. The custom had been for the planters to make advances to the cultivators, binding them down to deliver a certain quantity of indigo, and forcing them to bear the risk of failure. The obligation thus laid on the cultivator descended from father to son, for a failure of completion of the contract brought the cultivator again to the planter for fresh advances; and the result was that the former became hopelessly involved. As time went on, the yoke became so heavy that the people were unable to bear it, and several causes conspiring just at this time to awaken them to a sense of their position, and to a prospect of escape, if with a united effort they endeavoured to throw off the obligations, the attempt was made. They openly refused to fulfil their contracts, and defied the planters to force them. In a few cases violence was resorted to, and the lives and property of the planters were endangered. But the Bengalee is a harmless individual where physical force is concerned; and considering the excited state of feeling all over the province, the results in the shape of outrage on person and property were marvellously small. The loss entailed, however, in the aggregate was serious, for after the expiry of the Act which was passed to enforce fulfilments of existing contracts, by making a breach of them criminal, the cultivators refused to sow indigo in the Kishnagur, Jessore, Fureedpore, and Pubna districts, in which alone property valued at one and a quarter million was ruined.¹ The loss, of course, did not fall wholly on

¹ *The Friend of India.*

the planters. It was a strike without the clubs and associations to supply the labourers with means of livelihood during the cessation of their earnings. The miserable cultivators, in gratifying their grudge against the planters, had to forego half-a-million of money that would otherwise have circulated among them, and have afforded the means of support for them and their families. The planters, many of whom were landlords, naturally asserted their rights, and amid the wreck of their fortunes strove to save a few remnants, by a rigid collection of their rents; and the cultivators were sold up, or imprisoned and fined under the provisions of the special Act.

This Act was passed on the 9th April, and was intended to prevent the sudden and total destruction of almost all the indigo interests in the province. Under its provision a committee was assembled to inquire into the grievances of the ryots and the position of the planters, and to investigate the charges of oppression which the former brought against them. Of this committee Mr. Seton Karr was president, and Mr. (now Sir R.) Temple, the Government nominee. The planters were represented by Mr. W. Fergusson, and the missionaries by the Rev. J. Sale, while Baboo C. Chatterjee attended on the part of the British Indian Association to represent native interests. It commenced its sittings on the 10th May, and sat till the 4th August. It examined 134 witnesses, of whom 15 were officials, 21 planters, 8 missionaries, 13 native zemindars or talookdars, and 77 cultivators, tenant proprietors, or occupiers of land. The report drawn up by the committee is allowed by all parties to be most exhaustive. It deals with every point connected with indigo cultivation, with the relations between the planters and the ryots, with agricultural pursuits of all sorts, with the conduct of the police and the authorities, with the subject of land tenures, and the general condition of the country and the people.

The case on either side is thus briefly stated.

It is asserted, on the one hand, that the cultivation of

indigo is not voluntary on the part of the ryot ; that he is compelled to plough, to sow, and weed his land, and to cut and cart the plant, at times when he would prefer being engaged in other agricultural work of superior profit ; that the land allotted to indigo is selected by the servants of the planters, is the best land very often, and is sometimes forcibly ploughed up to be resown with indigo when it is already sown with other crops ; that the cultivation is thus rendered irksome and harassing to the ryot ; that he invariably becomes indebted to the factory, and is obliged to bequeath his debts to his posterity, which almost deprives them of personal freedom ; that he is oppressed by the servants of the factory, kidnapped, imprisoned, and outraged, and that the planters use unjustifiable means to obtain estates in *putni*¹ from the zemindars, and that the system generally is vicious in theory, injurious in practice, and radically unsound.

On the other hand, it is maintained that the rule of the planters, as proprietors of lands, is milder and more temperate than that of the natives ; that the object of the planter in securing zemindary right is to have that influence over his tenants without which, from interference on the part of others, he cannot carry on the cultivation properly ; that the zemindars, aware of this, extort exorbitant terms from the planter ; that the planter's difficulties are increased by the jealousy and suspicion of the executive authorities, the corruptness of the police, the distance of the courts, and the chances of legal procedure ; and that his presence in the country is beneficial to the natives and the Government in diffusing civilization, protection, and progress.

The subjects of inquiry were thus classified :—

1. The truth or falsehood of the charges made against the system and the planters.

¹ *Putni* means a lease. The Committee found that the planters had gradually acquired certain proprietary rights in land, but that these rights might be acquired in a perfectly legitimate manner.

2. Changes required to be made in the system as between manufacturer and cultivator, such as can be made by the heads of "concerns," themselves.

3 Changes in the law or administration, such as can only originate and be carried out by the legislative and executive authorities.

With regard to the first of these inquiries, the Committee report that, although it was the custom of planters to make advances, instances of fresh advances of late years were not numerous. The cultivators complained that, in consequence of their liability under the contracts made with their fathers, they were oppressed to such an extent that neither their labour nor their time could be called their own. The planters urged, on the other hand, that the cultivators were in reality better off under the system than they were before ; that they were not subjected to the demands frequently made by the native zemindars on various pretexts on the occasion of births, marriages, &c.; and that the European planters did not put in force their powers to measure and assess the lands the cultivators rented from them to the full amount allowed by law. These advantages were obviously of a precarious character, dependent on the temper and disposition of individuals, while the evils under which the cultivators laboured were of a more durable and permanent nature. In point of fact, the Committee found that what are called the "collateral advantages" which the cultivators were said to enjoy, were limited to two dispensaries and a few vernacular schools. But all the defects of the system, the Report says, may be summed up in one short sentence, "the want of adequate remuneration." "It is this that mainly renders the possession of landed influence indispensable to extensive cultivation, and it is owing to this that the planter has to urge the cultivator to plough and to sow, by means little short of compulsion ; it is this that brings out in strong relief the well-known defect of the national character of the Bengali, that sharpens his cunning, aggravates his indolence, tempts him

to procrastination, and fosters his proneness to concealment ; it is this, in short, that renders the whole relations between the two parties one prolonged and unhappy struggle, in which Anglo-Saxon energy, promptitude, and pertinacity are often almost baffled by that subterfuge and evasion which are the proverbial resources of the weak." The obvious remedy for such a state of things, the increase of terms offered to cultivators, was impracticable, because most of the indigo "concerns" were being worked with borrowed capital at an average rate of interest of 10 per cent., which, with the cost of manufacturing, left too small a margin for the planter to satisfy the needs of the cultivator.

As to the charges of violence brought against the planters, the Committee find that they were on the whole but ill supported. Of the actual destruction of human life, there had been very few instances. Affrays were rare, and no distinct cases of the alleged burning of bazaars and houses, outrages on women, &c. were proved. Several instances of the seizure of cattle by the planters, and of kidnapping men, were supported by evidence ; but extortion on the part of the factory servants, which under such a system was highly probable, was not clearly proved. The whole system is, however, described as being such that violent men can only work it by oppression and ill-usage, and the best and most considerate could gain credit only by the fact of their having worked it, not merely without producing open discontent, but even with some show of contentment on the part of the cultivator.

The share which the missionaries had in the dispute was this. They were accused by the planters of having set the cultivators against them, by telling the ryots they were under no necessity to meet the obligations imposed on them ; in short, the charge amounted to having, by their advice, instigated the ryots to the attempt to rid themselves of a yoke which they were no longer able to bear. The missionaries who were examined stoutly denied the charge. They declared, on the contrary, that they had urged the

people to obedience to the law, to avoid breaking it, to sow the indigo for the present year, and, if oppressed, to appeal to the authorities.

"The assertion," the Report adds, "that the refusal of the ryots to sow indigo has been produced by the preaching of the missionaries, is one entirely without foundation in truth." "In our opinion, it is extremely unreasonable to attribute the sudden failure of an unsound system, which had grown up silently for years, to the officials and missionaries who told the people that they were free agents."

As regards the second head of inquiry, the Committee recommended first doing away with the system of advances; and if this were not feasible, that the manufacturer should purchase indigo from the contractor. And failing both these, that the planter should pay a certain sum for the crop on the ground. In default of all of these suggested remedies, they proposed improvement in the existing system: a simple bond for twelve months, with a strict annual adjustment of accounts, the stamp paper to be at the expense of the factory, the land to be selected by the planter and cultivator mutually, and the expense of delivery to be borne by the factory. In addition, care should be taken that there were fair measurements in change for seed, and the cultivator to be allowed to sow a cold weather crop after the indigo had been cut, or to grow seed from the stumps; and, finally, accounts for rent and indigo to be kept separate.

Under the third head, the recommendation of the Committee was confined to the reform of police and the establishment of more subordinate courts.

To this Report are annexed a minute of Mr. Temple and one by Mr. Fergusson. The former recommends judicious concessions on the part of the planter towards the cultivator; that Act XI. of 1860 should be made permanent, breaches of registered contracts to cultivate indigo being held punishable by the magistrate; and that a special commission should be appointed.

Mr. Fergusson dissented wholly from the Report. He avowed that "its language and tone tended to give a colouring and to lead to conclusions not proved."

At the time the discussion and the inquiry took place, party feeling ran high. Many had been ruined, and men smarting under the sense of wrongs were incapable of regarding the question with anything approaching to impartiality. It is clear enough to those who regard the matter at this distance of time, free from bias and interested considerations, that the breaking up of the system was the inevitable result of the increase of wealth and general progress of the country coming into contact with an order of things which had arisen under circumstances wholly different. The cultivators made the discovery (is it to be laid to the charge of the missionary or the official that the discovery came from them?) that they were not so miserably off as they thought, and that they were not bound to remain any longer in the condition of hereditary bondage, as it may be called, to which the system and their adherence to custom had brought them. It was impossible that such a system could be broken up without great loss on both sides, and corresponding public excitement. That the losses endured were not aggravated by a general disturbance of the public peace and outrages on person and property, is owing to the national character of the Bengali. In any other country in the world the reform would have been attended by a much greater social convulsion, though the contest between the parties, the many and the few, might have been as sharp as it would have been decisive.

The only measure of so-called reform which was actually carried out was the extension of subordinate courts; and as the condition of these courts was said to be one of the causes of the disturbances, this was hardly calculated to effect much improvement.

A vast pauper population, whose normal condition is but one step removed from penury—one might almost say from starvation—is ever liable to be plunged into the deepest

distress by an unfavourable season. The wretched poverty-stricken classes of Upper India are year by year exposed to this danger. If the ordinary rain of heaven is withheld, the consequence is a famine. Unable to do more at the best of times than just to keep themselves and their families alive by the scanty pittance they earn by daily labour, a sudden rise in the price of the necessaries of life is the death-warrant of thousands. And this is the condition of the bulk of the population throughout India after a century of British rule.

The consequences of poverty, as Macaulay has well represented, in tropical countries, are much less painful than in climates like our own, where the misery of the hunger-stricken poor is so much enhanced by the want of proper clothing and fuel. But it must be recollected that Macaulay was writing of Bengal, where the climate is equable, and, compared with the upper part of India, mild all the year round. In the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, for instance, the cold during three or four months of the year is so severe that even Europeans are glad to wear the warmest woollen clothing. Every house is provided with its fireplace, and fires are necessary for at least two months. Hoar-frost not unfrequently occurs even as far south as Delhi and Agra; in the upper part of the Punjab, ice may be seen on the roadside as late as the 18th March, at eight o'clock in the morning. At all large settlements it is usual to collect enough ice from earthen pans set out and filled with water for the purpose, to last the European community all through the summer months. In a climate cold enough to admit of an almost unlimited supply of ice being collected in a month or two, it is easy to understand that a population always underfed, and at the best of times not accustomed to the use of nutritive food, and most scantily clothed, must suffer much. When to their ordinary condition of existence is superadded the sudden rise of prices, owing to a scarcity of grain and cereals, it is impossible to overrate the amount of misery

that ensues. The year 1860 was marked by one of these terrible visitations. The autumn rains of 1859 had almost entirely failed over a large tract of country. The ground became like iron or brass beneath the feet. The supply of grain was cut off, and before the cold weather was half over the famine, with all its horrors, had begun to make itself felt throughout the territory between the Jumna and the Ganges. It raged in the districts of Muttra, Agra, Meerut, in Rohilcund and Delhi, worse than elsewhere; but it was far from being confined to these limits, for it extended right up to Peshawur. The local newspapers sounded the alarm. As usual, the officials turned a deaf ear to any report that did not reach them through the "usual channels," and not till the people had begun to die in hundreds, and private liberality was solicited to meet the coming danger, would Government open its eyes to the necessity for action. Committees were then formed, a central committee being appointed at Agra to supervise the operations of local committees. Large subscriptions were made, supplemented by assistance from England. Public works were designed, and the starving wretches came in by thousands to receive a meal doled out to them every morning, and a small payment of two annas, or threepence—the ordinary day-labourer's wages in India—in return for a day's work.

The last severe famine which had visited that part of the country occurred in 1833. On that occasion, as on this, there were a large number of orphan children to be provided for. Parents, in many cases, died, leaving their helpless infants, perhaps on the roadside, to the mercy of some chance wayfarer. In other cases, unable to support their offspring, the parents would sell them to any purchaser they could find, or leave them in some conspicuous place where they were likely to attract the notice of Europeans. In 1833, most of the orphans thus situated were collected together, and located at a spot about three miles from Agra, just opposite the famous tomb of the Emperor Akbar. The place is called Secundra. Funds were raised,

a church was erected, and buildings for the accommodation of the children, in addition to some old corridors and a mausoleum that were standing on the site, devoted to the charitable purpose. A missionary was put in charge of the settlement. Many of the children, of course, who were not far from death's door when first brought to the orphanage, sunk into an early grave. But the bulk survived. Schools were established, and means of instruction in useful trades provided. In course of time boys and girls grew up to maturity and were married. A village then rose in the settlement, a Christian village in the heart of a heathen population, where the church bell might be heard on Sundays, calling the congregation to morning and evening prayer. The settlement was in a flourishing condition when the rebellion of 1857 swept like a hurricane over the land. A Christian colony like that of Secundra was not likely to escape the notice of an army of fanatical Mahommedans and Hindoos, and when the mutineers advanced towards Agra, the Christian population of Secundra was scattered to the four winds of heaven, the buildings more or less destroyed, and the church dismantled. No sooner had the rebellion been quelled and political disturbances ceased, than a second famine wasted the land. Again parents died, leaving their infants to the care of the strangers. Again they were collected by the charitable efforts of the Christian community, and located at Secundra: the ruined buildings were re-erected, the church restored, another missionary took up his abode there, and at the present moment there is a settlement of three or four hundred children of both sexes growing up to maturity—a small Christian settlement and an oasis in the desert of heathendom, where the sound of the church bells on the Lord's-day again calls the congregation to Divine worship. Doubtless when the mutineers turned away from the smoking ruins of the village and the desecrated Christian church, they congratulated themselves on having swept from the face of the earth an institution so hateful to the fanatical heathen as a Christian colony

opposite the mausoleum of the great Mahomedan emperor. But why did "the heathen so furiously rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?" It needed but the withholding of the autumn rains for two successive years to bring the scourge of famine over the land; and while the members of the first colony who remained true to their faith were dispersed by the violence of the mutineers to carry the seeds of truth elsewhere, their places in the original locality were filled by another body of orphans and destitute children, who are now fast growing up to maturity, and have formed the nucleus of another Christian settlement.

The Disarming Act, which was passed this year, might more properly be considered under the head of the history of legislation, in the chapter devoted to that subject; but its importance in reality consists rather in its political than its legislative aspect. The native army had mutinied. The new local European regiments had followed suit. Madras had intimated a desire to assert its independence, and now, had the European community been in a position to do so, they would most assuredly have taken the same course, so far as to resist the operation of this law as it first came before Council. As it was, they were too weak and too insignificant in numbers to do aught but remonstrate most loudly against the measure. It may easily be believed that at that time the recollection of the events of 1857 was fresh in the mind of every one who had passed through that eventful year. Numbers of European tradesmen and others had been ruined by the rebellion so far as the destruction of their property was concerned. Many had lost brothers, wives, children; wives had been left widows, and children orphans. Numbers had taken up arms and served as volunteers—some in self-defence, others from a patriotic desire to support the Government. Some instances there had been of planters remaining quietly in their homes; nay, in one case, at least, of taking charge of an entire district whence the Government officials had fled. Every European in Upper India had shared more or less in the general

wreck of happiness and fortune. All had alike been exposed to the storm, and all by making common cause with the Government against a common enemy had drawn upon themselves the hostility of the rebels. During the rebellion there was a very general feeling that, after order had been restored, the Government would exact from the districts and cities which had been centres of disaffection a fine sufficient to compensate the owners of property for losses inflicted on them within those limits. This measure was partially adopted in the Punjab, but nowhere else. Compensation, as it was called—more correctly, a compassionate allowance sufficient to relieve immediate wants—was doled out in meagre proportion to the losses incurred, so far as they could be estimated. The native community certainly expected to be called on to meet this heavy charge; and were prepared, if not to pay the money, at any rate to submit to its being taken from them. The disappointment that ensued among those who had suffered, when it was found that Government had no intention of carrying out any measure of the kind, was very great. And just as people were in a bad humour about this, and indulging in the Briton's privilege of grumbling, the Legislature passed what was called the Disarming Act (Act XXXI. of 1860). This law put all Europeans and natives, loyal and disloyal, on the same footing exactly. Whether such an Act was called for, whether the European population had done anything to deserve such an insult, as it undoubtedly was, is now hardly worth inquiring. The Disarming Act passed by Lord Dalhousie in the Punjab had especially exempted Christians from its operation, and they had a right to expect the same principle should be observed here. It may be argued that a law should not be made to affect one class and not another; but apart from the fact that a great part of the Indian code does consist of enactments passed for special purposes and to affect special classes, the object of legislation is assuredly, not to produce a body of law perfect in the abstract, but to provide for the welfare of the com-

munity and the good of the country at large. In 1860, we had just passed through a bloody civil war—a war in which the instincts of humanity had been frequently outraged by the rebels, women and children having been massacred in cold blood with every accompanying circumstance that could heighten the horror of their fate. But three short years had passed since the whole European and Christian community of Upper India had been standing at bay fighting for their lives, defending themselves at fearful odds, whilst thousands and tens of thousands sought their blood. The non-official Europeans had drawn this upon themselves because they made common cause with the officials. What principle, what reason was there, in classing all in the same category now; in subjecting Christians, loyal and disloyal Mahommedans and Hindoos, the assailants and the assailed, to the same process of being disarmed? Every one, of course, admits the justice of the principle of equality in the eye of the law as regards the rights of property, the obligations of contract, the protection of the person. But a disarming Act is, from the nature of the case, an Act rendered necessary by some abnormal condition of society—by the existence of some political excitement peculiar to the state of the country at the time. It is special legislation to meet a special emergency. And whatever objection there may be to special legislation, the necessity which justifies it fully justifies the introduction of a qualifying principle. If the state of the country in 1860 required that the population should be disarmed by law, the very fact of such a law being necessary showed that the country was in an abnormal condition. There was danger, to meet which the Legislature had to step out of its way, and to interfere to an extent which necessity alone can justify, with the private rights and liberties of the inhabitants. The rebellion had been caused by misgovernment. In the excited state of feeling that ensued, the native population, who either took an active part in or sympathised with the movement, soon ceased to discriminate between European

subjects and officials, when they saw the former take up arms in concert with the latter. The object for which they fought, then, was the destruction of the British government. The non-official residents would of themselves have excited no ill feeling. They suffered not because of their connexion by race and religion with the ruling powers, but because they allowed their sympathies with their fellow-countrymen and their patriotism to overcome every selfish consideration. When the rebellion was over, the European non-official population, who had been the innocent victims of the mal-administration of the officials, was classed in the same category as those who had fought against the Government; and while officials in general were exempt, the non-officials were brought under the operation of the Disarming Act. It was as if the Government, which had shown itself powerless to protect them, were now resolved to take from them the power to protect themselves.

The Act had the effect of producing an unwonted movement in Upper India. In all the large settlements public meetings of the non-official Europeans, Eurasians, and Christian inhabitants were held, and petitions drawn up against the measure, which were effectual so far that a clause was inserted in the Act rendering it a dead letter, except in provinces in which it should specially be put in force by the local Government. The dissatisfaction felt at the Act was far from being confined to the classes immediately affected. It was equally unpopular with the executive officers, who knew too well the value of unanimity and concord between the European and Christian population residing within their districts. Chief commissioners, commissioners, and magistrates were by no means pleased at seeing a measure passed which was so distasteful to these sections of the community that, had occasion required, as in 1857, their active co-operation and assistance in support of the Government, scarce one in a hundred would have come forward. When the Act reached the Punjab, Sir R. Montgomery by a notification

in the *Gazette* at once exempted all Christians from its operation.

Seeing how angry the European community were, Lord Canning adopted an expedient which, although it might have been well received before the Bill was brought forward, was now too late. He called—at least, permitted the call to be made—for a volunteer force, on the principle of that raised in England. The volunteers were, of course, to be exempted from the operation of the Act.

It was, however, too late. The class to whom the call was addressed were exasperated and sulky, and received it with silent derision. Here and there a few clerks and uncovenanted *employés*, anxious to win the favour of their superiors, enrolled themselves into companies and corps, and went to drill with praiseworthy perseverance. Parsees, and certain classes of natives, whose loyalty had never been doubted, offered their services, which were rejected, and the volunteer movement in India failed. For many years the non-official European and Christian population throughout India were so alienated from the Government in feeling, that had another outbreak occurred, the authorities would have had to trust to the military alone and to public servants to effect its suppression. The traders, the merchants, the planters, might indeed have taken up arms, for the protection of their own lives, their families, and their property. But they could hardly have been blamed if they hesitated again to risk the one, or sacrifice the other, in support of a Government that, as soon as the danger was over, deliberately attempted to leave its friends and supporters at the mercy of their antagonists, and overlooked the fact that an Englishman in India is as one to ten thousand, living in the midst of a population which, if it is goaded into hostility by the mal-administration of the ruling power, readily ceases to discriminate between the official and his non-official fellow-countrymen.¹

¹ It is gratifying to find that a different state of public feeling altogether seems to have set in with Lord Mayo's administration. For

It is quite true that the excitement and ill-will caused by this Act was altogether out of proportion with the tenor and effect of the Act itself, as it ultimately passed. Council. Whether or not it was owing to the general feeling of discontent, that the qualifying and modifying clauses were introduced, it is clear those clauses render it really innocuous. The law has been described as virtually arming natives already disarmed, and disarming by law Europeans unless exempted by the executive.¹ Under Clause 27, the local governments have power to exempt such persons as they think fit from its operation in their own provinces. It was probably taken for granted that the local authorities would exempt Christians, as Sir R. Montgomery did the moment the Act reached the Punjab. But the Legislature has no right to take anything for granted. And it may fairly be doubted whether or not it was worth while to give rise to so much ill-will among a class to whom the ruling powers certainly owed a good deal, and whom it was politic, at any rate, not to alienate for the sake of a principle sacrificed over and over again in Indian legislation.

While the Government were thus careless about the temper of their European subjects, they lost no opportunity of conciliating the natives. Rewards had been lavishly distributed, in the shape of confiscated estates, upon those who could make out a claim on the score of loyalty. But

once in the century the Governor-General of India bids fair to be popular with the European resident community. They are not hard to please, and although the Government of India can well afford to disregard their blame or their applause, the goodwill of our fellow-countrymen is of too great value to be needlessly thrown away ; and should any political crisis occur in the present administration, Lord Mayo will find the advantage of being able to rally round him a class of men whose influence over the native population is much greater than is generally represented by official writers. The volunteer movement, which was languishing into an early grave, has revived under this impulse, and the formation of a corps of volunteers out of the railway *employés* will add considerably to the available defences of the empire.

¹ *The Friend of India.*

the measure which did, perhaps, more than anything else to gratify the aristocracy of India was the despatch dated the 26th July, by which her Majesty extended to every chief in India above the rank of "jageerdar," or grantee from the Crown, the right of adoption on condition of loyalty. It may be deemed politic to annex the condition of loyalty to the recognition of this right, but it is difficult to see any reason why such a condition should be annexed to this more than to any other right enjoyable under Hindoo law. As we have seen, it was clearly recognised in Lord Amherst's time,¹ but was repudiated by succeeding administrations that beheld in plunder and annexation nothing but an honourable method of aggrandizing the country. In the sense, however, of a declaration that Great Britain should rob no more, her Majesty's proclamation was not without its value, and it has been a source of confidence to many a chief troubled at the advance of old age, and the want of a natural heir.

On what grounds the right so fully recognised by the law of the Hindoos should have been denied to princes and chiefs by the East India Company, it is not easy to understand. A Hindoo who is without a natural heir, it is admitted, may adopt a son, who succeeds to all his property; but should he chance to wear a crown, he is not to exercise this privilege. A glance at the general principle of the law, one would think, must be sufficient to refute this doctrine. The etymology of the Sanscrit word "putra" shows at once the meaning of the right, and the hardship of excluding any one class from the exercise of it. "Putra" is one who delivers his father's soul from hell by performing the funeral rites. "Since the son," say the "Institutes of Menu," (chap. ix. sec. 138,²) "delivers his father from the hell named 'put,' he was therefore called 'putra' by Brahma himself." A Hindoo, who dies leaving no male

¹ *Vide supra*, Chap. III.

² *Vide* Macnaghten's "Hindoo Law," and other works on the same subject.

issue to perform the funeral rites, remains in hell. The prohibition, therefore, against the adoption of a son because the would-be adopter wears a crown, seems hard. Why should he not be allowed to adopt as well as another? And if he be allowed to adopt, why should not the adopted son succeed to all the rights of the natural son, whether those rights include a crown or a private estate? The rule that the right does not extend to a crowned head must have been devised with a view of consolidating under our dominion the various independent states. And it only shows how men, against reason and against right, will cling to a traditional policy, that there should be found in India even now those who contend that the principle universally recognised wherever the Hindoo system of law and religion prevailed, is yet not to be applied in cases where there is a chance of a territory lapsing to the power paramount.

It does not belong to this history to relate the progress of the China war which went on during the year 1860, although India supplied the greater part of the land forces employed in that country. Some military operations, however, of minor importance were carried on against various tribes in different parts of our extended frontier.

In the Derajat, the country to the west of the Indus, the Wazeeries, who had been punished for harbouring the murderers of Captain Meham, again proved troublesome, and a force was sent against them under Colonel Lumsden, which met with the success that usually attends such expeditions into the hills. The savages were indeed punished, but at the expense of an arduous, though not a prolonged campaign. On the Pegu frontier, in Guzerat, in the hill districts in Assam, in the neighbourhood of Darjeeling, similar operations were undertaken against savage tribes. In the latter case, indeed, the affair assumed more formidable proportions; and as it was connected intimately with previous political relations between the British Government

and the Sikkimese and neighbouring states, a brief notice of this episode in British Indian history will not be out of place.

The British territory of Darjeeling, the sanitarium resorted to by the European inhabitants of Bengal Proper, originally formed part of a territory called Sikkim, governed by a Raja. During a contest with Nepal in 1816, the portion of Sikkim now known as the Darjeeling district was conquered and annexed by that country; but when, at the close of the war between the East India Company and Nepal, in 1817, it was ceded to the former, the then Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, gave it back to the Sikkim Raja. Afterwards, when the desirable nature of the locality as a sanitarium came into notice, it was rented from the Sikkim Raja by the Company, in consideration of a regular annual payment to the Raja of 3,000 rupees. This, however, did not occur till 1835. The first officer who went to preside there was Captain Lloyd, who in 1839 was succeeded by Dr. Campbell as political agent. In 1849, Dr. Hooker, the celebrated botanist, visited the Himalayas, and Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General, made a request through Dr. Campbell to the Sikkim Raja, that Dr. Hooker should be permitted to carry on his botanical researches in his territory unmolested. Dr. Hooker, however, was not allowed by the Sikkimese officials to carry out his innocent pursuits, and Dr. Campbell, with the permission of the Government, joined Dr. Hooker, and accompanied him to the capital of the Raja's territory, with the object of having an interview with the sovereign. He, however, refused to see them, and left the capital shortly after their arrival. Drs. Campbell and Hooker then set out to return, but were attacked on the road by about fifty armed Sikkimese, headed by an official. They knocked down Dr. Campbell, bound him hand and foot, kicked and otherwise ill-treated him. It appeared on inquiry that this outrage on the political agent was committed at the instigation of the Deewan or

minister of the Raja, who had a grudge against Dr. Campbell for having some time previously interfered to procure the release of a Nepalese girl who had been kidnapped.

The two doctors were carried off to the capital, where they were detained upwards of a month in confinement till the 25th December, under circumstances of great hardship. They were released in consequence of a military force having been ordered to march to their rescue. The British Government then annexed the tract of land it had previously rented from the Sikkim Raja, and nothing further occurred till the present year, 1860, when Dr. Campbell having represented to Government that the Sikkimese had been giving trouble on the frontier, kidnapping British subjects and interfering with traffic, he was directed to proceed with a detachment of the Sebundy Sappers (a corps raised originally by that officer for service in the district), and occupy a portion of Sikkim. He had besides the Sappers a three-pounder gun and four Europeans, with which very slender force he proceeded on his career of invasion, and on the 30th November marched to a village forty miles from Darjeeling, and seized it. After remaining in undisturbed possession of this conquest for about a month, an attack was one day suddenly made on the little garrison, which eventually had to spike their three-pounder gun, and retire on Darjeeling. As usual, the retreat, before the asylum was reached, became a rout, and the detachment lost a fifth of its numbers.

The Sikkimese having exhibited signs of being so inflated with their success over Dr. Campbell's party as to contemplate following up their success and attacking the sanitarium of Darjeeling, a force was ordered to proceed under the command of Col. Gawler, of the 73d regiment, consisting of two mountain howitzers and a detachment of Artillery, 300 of the 6th regiment, 200 of Rattray's Sikhs and the Sebundy Sappers, to attack the capital of the Sikkim Raja. After meeting and overcoming a little opposition on the road in the shape of a stockade, the force

reached the capital on the 9th March, 1861, when a treaty was concluded by the Hon. Ashley Eden, the diplomatic officer with the force, with the Raja, the principal items in which were that a representative of the British Government should for the future reside at the capital. The first representative was Cheboo Lama, of whom more will be heard in the chapter on the Bhootan war ; and ever since that time the Sikkim Raja has lived on terms of amity with his powerful neighbours.

CHAPTER V.

1861.

Constitutional changes—The famine and its results—Outbreak of cholera—Floods in Bengal—Cotton—The Hon. Mr. Laing—Contract Bill—Effect of extension of cotton cultivation—Sir Charles Trevelyan's views—Lord Canning's waste lands order—Currency Bill—The order of the Star of India—Honorary magistracies—Commission of Inquiry in Bengal—The minor presidencies—Bishop of Calcutta's schools—English education as opposed to Indian—Death of the Bishop of Madras—Lady Canning.

THE year 1861 was remarkable for the introduction of several very important changes in the constitution of the Indian Government ; which, however, did not until after the close of the year come into actual operation, and therefore belong to another chapter. Thus, for instance, in this year was passed the Indian Councils Act, which made important modifications in the constitution of the Legislative Council. In this year, also, was passed the Act amalgamating the courts of law, and constituting the high courts at the Presidency towns ; but neither of these changes was actually carried out till after the commencement of 1862. Scarcely less important was the Act which threw open the Civil Service to public competition. The introduction of currency notes, and the establishment of the banks of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras as Government treasuries and bankers, were all measures of vast public benefit, which, like the opening of the Civil Service, were conceived in this year but not born till later. Although, however, these constitutional reforms did not begin to

make themselves felt till they were actually introduced, the year 1861 is far from having been an uneventful one in the history of Indian progress.

The famine which commenced in the previous year continued its ravages through all the early part of 1861, with slight abatement. It was not till the month of August, when the periodical rains had set in with more than usual force, that the Agra Central Committee could issue a notice that, the symptoms of distress having decreased considerably, further assistance was not required. Liberally indeed had all classes, both in India and in England, come forward with that assistance. And when the relief operations finally closed, there was a considerable surplus in the hands of the committee. After a good deal of discussion, and a careful consideration of the various claims put forward for a share of the amount, it was eventually decided to invest the bulk of the money in Government securities for the support of the Secundra Orphanage alluded to in the previous chapter, and to distribute the rest in various proportions, among the different religious and charitable institutions that had during the prevalence of the distress burdened themselves with the charge of orphans.

The returns given in Colonel Baird Smith's report, which deals only with a portion of the district affected, that is, the North-West Provinces—and the famine extended with greater or less severity almost over the whole of the Punjab—show that thirteen millions of people were affected by it, and five and a half millions suffered most severely. Upwards of one-third out of an area of twelve and a half millions of acres, was thrown out of cultivation. Half a million of people emigrated to other districts or to foreign states, and four per cent., at least, of the population died. Eighty thousand poor received food daily at various relief-stations, and a hundred and forty-three thousand four hundred able-bodied paupers were employed in daily labour in public works of various kinds, at a cost of

250,000*l.* In addition to this, about fifty thousand men were employed in railway and irrigation works. The remission of revenue cost the State 400,000*l.* But these figures, indicating as they do but a portion of the sufferings and losses caused by this terrible visitation, convey to the mind no real idea of the extent of those sufferings. No pen can describe the scenes that daily met the view of those who were engaged in the duty of superintending the distribution of food. It was impossible for a casual traveller along the high road, or even for the ordinary resident engaged in his daily avocations, to avoid witnessing constant indications of the distress. But to see it in its true character, and to gain any adequate idea of its extent and nature, it was necessary to visit the relief asylums.

The applicants for charity were divided usually into three classes: the first included those who were in the last stage of want and emaciation; the second, those who from age, or debility induced by starvation, were unfit for present work; and the third, those who were fit for labour. Wooden barriers, or pens, were erected to keep the crowd of starving wretches, whose sufferings were aggravated by the sight of food, from pressing within the area and overpowering the slender staff of volunteers who superintended the relief operations. Within the area allotted to the class unfit for work the sight that presented itself was most deplorable; a crowd of destitute creatures in every attitude of apathy, disease, and prostration—a mass of squalor, nakedness, and misery such as it seldom falls to the lot of an Englishman to see. Out of the number assembled in this spot, perhaps a few would be selected as fit for a day's nominal labour. In the face of so much accumulated misery then happily within reach of relief, it was impossible to avoid the conviction that a much larger number of persons must at the time have been perishing from want in the highways and byways, in the fields and villages.

One of the best of these asylums was established at Delhi, where hundreds of starving wretches owed their

lives to the humane exertions of one who had a few short years before, in the rebellion of 1857, been forced to fly from an infuriated mob, and for weeks suffered every possible privation and misery with his family in the jungles.

Such was this terrible visitation—a visitation that no one can the least estimate without witnessing its results. And such are the visitations that appear under some mysterious law of nature to visit India periodically, and that might in most cases be much mitigated, if not really warded off, by an extensive system of irrigation.

Travancore, a district of Madras, in the south of India, was also visited by a famine this year; but, though the distress for the time was severe, it was not attended with results anything at all to be compared with those which appeared in Upper India.

The famine was followed, as is generally the case in India, by an outbreak of cholera, which spread its devastations with remarkable exactness over the area where the scarcity of food had been prevalent. The first of these visitations had confined its ravages to the native population almost entirely. The cholera smote the European community, especially the soldiers, with terrible force. As usual, almost all remedies were vain, and the epidemic, baffling medical skill, and defying all the efforts of science to combat it, ran its course, gradually dying out, as after marking down its victims it travelled from town to town, from garrison to garrison, from Benares to beyond the Indus, and from Rajpootana in the South-West to the foot of the Himalayas in the North-West. This is remarked as being the fifth visitation of cholera in India during the last twenty years.

Hitherto Bengal had enjoyed immunity from the disasters which swept over the Upper Provinces; but, as if Nature had determined that this part of India should not escape scot-free the vials of her wrath, Bengal was visited by a terrible flood, which carried away villages, destroyed roads, washed down bridges, and did an incalculable

amount of injury to the crops. The waters subsided to give birth to a malarious fever, that raged over the recently inundated area, and swept away thousands of victims.

While Nature was dealing thus mercilessly with this portion of the Eastern hemisphere, the fairest regions of the West were being devastated by civil war. In the one, famine, pestilence, and floods; in the other, the hand of man himself was the agent of destruction. But the American War was destined to affect India in a very marked and beneficial manner. The impetus given to the production of cotton by the absence of the supply from Southern America began first to be felt in the early part of this year. There was a splendid opportunity for India to monopolize a large share of a trade which it could not be doubted would prove the means of pouring into the country untold wealth, and of giving such a stimulus to agricultural industry as would raise the value of land, introduce English capital and enterprise, and improve the condition of the people. And although the sanguine hopes of those who watched the first efforts of India to supply the Manchester market have not by any means been realized to their full extent, still the movement has been of incalculable advantage to India in many ways.

It must not be supposed that the export trade of Indian cotton arose solely from the American War. The consumption of cotton during the sixty years between 1785 and 1845 trebled itself every fifteen years, being three times as great in 1800 as it was in 1785, three times as great in 1815 as in 1800, and so on. Between 1845 and 1860 the consumption also increased largely, though not so fast as in previous years; but the price of the raw cotton increased at the same time. The deduction is obvious, viz. that although the supply of raw cotton had immensely increased, still the demand was ahead of it, and thus the prices rose. In other words, between 1845 and 1860, Southern America, in spite of her slave labour, had failed to meet the demands of Manchester to the fullest extent, and

was beginning to lose her monopoly of the trade. The fact is also confirmed by the export of Bombay cotton to Liverpool, which had attained large dimensions before the civil war began in America. That event, by raising the price of cotton to an exorbitant amount, gave a great stimulus to the cultivation, but it also caused a contraction of the trade which it will take many years to recover.

During the year 1861 the price of "surats" rose from fourpence to ninepence, and it was said a million bales would be required. But before the year was out, speculators received a warning of the instability of the cotton market, for a rumour gained ground of impending war between England and the Northern States of America. Indeed at one time it was telegraphed from England that war had been declared. The depression consequent upon this rumour of war, which it was supposed would have the effect of re-opening and re-invigorating the South American cotton trade, was but temporary; and during this, and the few succeeding years, enormous fortunes were realized by cotton speculators. Money poured into the country, particularly Bombay, and the agricultural population of the cotton-producing districts amassed so much wealth, that the zemindars, it was said, not knowing how to employ their surplus silver, used it for tires for their cart-wheels.

The Government were fully alive to the opportunity thus offered to India of enriching herself. But it was obvious, Government could only aid the extension of cotton cultivation in an indirect way. The great drawback was the want of communication, for it so happened that the richest cotton districts were situated just where the communications with the sea-board were the worst and the least developed. Great improvements, it was obvious, could be made in the mode of packing and transport, while hopes were entertained that by attention to cultivation, and importing the best seed, Indian cotton might be produced equal in quality to that of Egypt, or even of Louisiana. The Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Bengal

gathered and published all the information it could collect upon the subject, and offered 100*l.* reward for the best essay on cotton cultivation. New Orleans seed, they said, was the best adapted for Upper Bengal, Behar, and the North-West Provinces, while the Sea Island was best suited for the Sunderbunds and both sides of the Bay of Bengal. The New Orleans is a short staple, adhering closely to the seed ; the Sea Island a long staple, with the cotton hanging loosely, and easily removed. There is a tendency, however, in the long staple when introduced into India to degenerate into short staple. Everything degenerates in India. The Anglo-Saxon degenerates ; cattle, horses, sheep, dogs, and cats degenerate. The vegetable world follows the same inexorable law, and cotton forms no exception.

The legitimate field for Government operations, however, lay in the extension of railways, and the construction and repair of roads. For this purpose the Hon. Mr. Laing, in his budget for 1861-2, laid before the Legislative Council on the 27th April, 1861, proposed to set aside half a million sterling nominally for public works ; the bulk of it, however, was to be expended in making roads. He says : "We shall especially urge on the construction of good roads in the principal cotton districts, so as to be prepared to bring the resources of India into play to supply the threatened deficiency of cotton from America. Immense interests are at stake in this question. Not only material—for who can measure the extension of commerce, and the material benefit to England and to India which would result from a transfer of the chief supply of cotton from America to the East?—but moral also, for the issue for which Wilberforce contended, and for which England has sacrificed her West Indian colonies, and poured forth her millions like water—the issue of slavery or freedom—is staked mainly on the question whether America's danger is to be India's opportunity. If cotton produced by free labour can under-sell cotton the produce of slavery, then, and not till then, the cause of freedom is finally gained."

And he adds, further on : "To press on the construction of roads and communications ; to pass just laws for the enforcement of contracts ; to provide ready tribunals for dispensing justice, to impress on all connected with them the importance of encouraging independent English enterprise by every means consistent with justice, and with the equal rights of our native subjects : these are within the legitimate functions of Government."

This second paragraph has been here quoted because there is a clause in it which touches upon a subject requiring a passing notice. It was urged by the party who advocated the introduction of European capital and enterprise into India, that after the break-up of the indigo interests in Bengal in 1859-60 it was vain to expect Englishmen to invest their capital in India unless they were protected by a law making breach of contract a criminal offence. We have seen that a bill to this effect, which passed the Legislative Council, was vetoed by the Secretary of State, a temporary enactment only being allowed to remain in operation for six months, to prevent the absolute ruin of the planters under a combination of the ryots. Mr. Laing and Mr. Beadon during the course of the year had occasion to visit England for the recovery of their health, and they availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them to put before the public the views held by almost all the most experienced legislators and officials in India. It is noteworthy that men of the most opposite characters, and who had been educated in totally different schools, belonging to different parties in politics, different services, and with diverse associations, all concurred in recommending a departure from the generally accepted principle of legislation, and were in favour of making breach of contract in India a criminal offence. Even Lord Canning, who cannot be supposed to have had any unfriendly feeling against the natives, civilians brought up in all the traditional prejudices of their service like Sir Cecil Beadon and Sir Bartle Frere, all concurred ; but the

opposition at home was steady and unswerving, and the bill was never passed. It is curious that Mr. Laing, in his remarks just quoted, represents the extension of the Indian cotton trade as the destruction of the system of slavery in America. The name by which the Contract Bill went among the natives was the "Slavery Bill," so that while with one hand he aimed at the extinguishment of slavery in America, he with the other endeavoured to introduce it (according to native views) into India. But the fact of the bill being vetoed in England, increased enormously the respect the natives had begun to feel for the unknown power in the West which could thus control the mighty Government of India or annul its measures. It made them feel, at any rate they persuaded themselves they could feel, now sure of justice. There was a something that could control the despotism of a Government which, under the guise of quasi-constitutional forms and with many protestations of liberality, is nevertheless many times more despotic and more iron-handed in its rule than the so-called despotism of the Moghul emperors.

Without entering into a discussion on the much-debated question as to whether there is anything in the character of the native of India, or any peculiarity in the climate, or the soil, or the country, which can justify a departure from a principle so generally recognised as that a breach of contract not necessarily a fraudulent breach should be held liable only to damages in a civil court, it may be sufficient to remark that oppression in the long run generally—may we not say always?—turns out ill for the oppressor. A departure from certain general principles of equity and justice that commend themselves to the instincts of all mankind, is oppression. And that such a law would be considered oppressive by all the natives in India is certain. It might be enforced, no doubt, for a time, perhaps for all time, but it might also prove the proverbial straw on the camel's back. But in fact the law is wholly unnecessary ; and great as is the weight of authority in its favour in India itself, it

is to be recollected that, with the exception perhaps of Sir R. Napier, now Lord Napier of Magdala, whose military duties may in early years have brought him into contact with the natives, there were none of the Council who by any possibility could have had the means of making themselves acquainted with the actual merits of the case, or the real feelings of the people.

The proposed Contract Bill was by no means, however, a result of the indigo difficulties of 1859-60. The project was merely revived on that occasion, and not started for the first time. Thirty years before, a similar measure had been proposed by the Indian Government, and disallowed by the Court of Directors; who would not hear of a law which they stigmatised as "one-sided," inasmuch as it made a breach of contract by one out of two consenting parties a criminal offence.

Upon Sir Charles Wood's intimating in a despatch dated 18th April, 1861, that if a Contract Bill on this principle was framed by Council he would veto it, the matter was of course dropped, much fault being found with the Secretary of State for going so far as to veto a bill before it was passed. But in truth there is much in what was urged in defence of such a line of policy, inasmuch as it was more courteous and respectful to the Indian Government to warn them beforehand, that if they passed a certain bill he should veto it, than to wait till it was passed into law and then annul it.

While upon the subject of the extension of the cotton trade and its effects on the country, at the risk of anticipating a little the order of the narrative, it will be as well to quote in this place some remarks of Sir Charles Trevelyan in his budget issued for 1863-64, delivered on the 7th April, 1864. From the returns attached to that budget, we find an enormous increase in the export of merchandise from British India in the period between 1860 and 1863, and that of a similar period ten or twenty years earlier. Thus, from 1840 to 1843 the average value of the exports was

13,610,842*l.*; from 1850 to 1853 they averaged 19,502,645*l.*; but from 1860 to 1863 they were as high as 38,750,577*l.* "To account for this rapid stride we must recollect the great progress India has made during the last twenty years under the more liberal views adopted by the Government. The Russian war gave an enormous impetus to the export of fibres and oil-seeds, but the value of cotton exported rose from 16,799,317*l.* in 1862-63 to 31,432,818*l.* in 1863-64. This was exported from the three presidency towns in the following proportions :—

	Cwt.	Value.
Calcutta	401,663	£2,152,128
Madras	597,995	4,103,000
Bombay	3,325,463	25,177,690."

In his budget statement for 1863 he remarks as follows :—

"Our proceedings must also have reference to a state of things which has begun to show itself in an unmistakeable manner.

"India was already rich in indigo, opium, saltpetre, and other staples of her export trade, when the demand arising from the Russian war gave a great stimulus to fibres and oil-seeds, and the American war has since raised the inducement to cultivate cotton to an unprecedented height. But India has a great population to feed, and as the breaking up of land is a gradual process, the increased demand for exported produce could only be met by diverting to its production a large proportion of the land which had been previously employed in raising grain.

"Simultaneously with this, railways and public works have been prosecuted at the rate of ten millions a year, whereby the industry of the people has been largely diverted from immediate production to increasing future productions.

"Consumption has also been greatly stimulated by the abundant means placed at the disposal of the cultivators by high prices, and of the labourers on railways and other public works by high wages.

"The result of these combined causes is that there is a serious strain upon the springs of society in some parts of India, like that which took place in Ireland in 1846 and in England in 1847, when such a large number of labourers were employed upon public works and railways. The price of every description of produce, whether for exportation or home consumption, has gone up. Exporters complain that prices are often as high here as they are in England. Consumers

complain of the greatly enhanced cost of every necessary of life, and as they have so much more to pay for the means of subsistence, they are obliged to stint themselves in everything else. This is the true explanation of the continued stagnation in the demand for Manchester goods, notwithstanding that the native manufacture is still falling off. A man must feed himself and his family before he can buy clothes, and at the present high prices of food the body of the people in several parts of India are barely able to subsist. A fall in the price of Manchester goods would not have much influence in promoting their sale under such circumstances.

"The effects upon the labour market are very striking. Although population is congested in some parts of India, there is in others a scarcity of labour. For a long time complaints have been received from several extensive provinces that the progress of public works and industrial undertakings is seriously impeded for want of labour. New roads, or tea and cotton plantations, are chiefly in thinly inhabited and unimproved parts of the country. Even if the population of India could be equally spread over the whole surface of the continent, it may be doubted whether the supply of labour would, under present circumstances, meet all the calls that would be made upon it; but as it is, the obstruction in several important districts is positive and decisive.

"Owing to the suitableness of the greater part of the Bombay presidency for growing cotton, this state of things is at its height there. An artificial famine has been created. The prices of material and of labour have been doubled and trebled; works are constructed at a greatly enhanced cost. The most serious symptom of all, however, is that the Government of India has been called upon to sanction a general increase in the pay of the public establishments of the Bombay presidency, with the certainty that if the same causes continue, a similar necessity must soon arise for a further augmentation. On the one hand, we are urged to supply funds without limit for the prosecution of public works, and, on the other, we are told that the dearness of every necessary of life, which arises in a great degree from this large expenditure, must be compensated by a corresponding increase of pay to the public establishments."

And he goes on to point out that the condition of the country was rapidly approaching that of Ireland in 1847, when 734,000 able-bodied men, representing a population of 3,000,000, had to be struck off the labour lists on account of the forced neglect of the tillage of the soil.

This state of things, so vividly depicted by Sir Charles Trevelyan in 1863, was brought about by causes that

commenced to act in 1861. There was a universal cry for Indian cotton. It arose in England, it was taken up in India, and the cotton-growers answered, "Give us roads." All eyes were turned towards India to see how she would behave in this new crisis. As usual, the Government was called upon to aid. The responsibility was theirs that India should not lose the opportunity of making her fortune. They responded to a call to which they dared not turn a deaf ear, and vigorous efforts were made to push on railway works, then languishing, and to complete roads that had been commenced, and to construct new ones. And the consequence was the withdrawal of the agricultural population from the tillage of the soil, and an alarming diminution in the amount of grain produced. The distress to which Sir Charles Trevelyan alludes arose to such a pitch, that officials in the receipt of stated salaries, and those not very large ones, were seriously inconvenienced. It was said there were several military officers' families at Poona and elsewhere, who could not afford meat on their table more than twice a week.

Another result of the sudden extension of the cotton trade was a measure introduced by Lord Canning towards the close of the present year. It is probable he had had it in contemplation ever since his first visit to the Upper Provinces, from which period we date that change in his views and policy which did so much to obliterate his former unpopularity among his Anglo-Indian fellow-countrymen, and raised him even in the estimation of his former detractors to a rank among the ablest of the statesmen who had filled the office of Governor-General. With the view of attracting English capital and enterprise to India he offered for sale culturable waste lands at the rate of five shillings an acre for uncleared, and ten shillings for cleared, limiting the grant to each individual to 3,000 acres. All the under-tenants' rights were respected, and by another ordinance the revenue of settled lands was allowed to be commuted at the rate of twenty years' purchase. The

minor presidencies and governorships were to issue their own rules as to details in accordance with the general principles enunciated in what was called "the waste lands order." We shall see further on the fate of this measure.

Mr. Laing landed in Calcutta the 18th January. He remained long enough to bring out the budget, and left again in May—to return, however, at the close of the year to his post. His budget and financial policy will be reviewed in another place. It is only necessary to notice here one important measure, originally devised by Mr. Wilson, and introduced, with certain indispensable modifications, by his successor. Up to that time the only paper currency that India possessed was a limited amount of notes issued by the three Presidency banks, upon which anywhere out of the immediate neighbourhood of the Presidency towns a discount had always to be paid, varying in amount with the distance from the original source of issue. Thus, eight hundred miles from Calcutta, at Delhi or Agra, for such bills you had to pay one rupee per cent., and of course there was no obligation upon any one to take them at all. The native bankers had their own "hoondees," or bills of exchange; which, however, were not in circulation like bank-notes, but might be endorsed from one person to another, just as any other bills of exchange. Except for the purpose of remittances, they were not in extensive use among European residents. The whole machinery of the finance and currency system had been conducted up to the era of reform in a most primeval and clumsy manner. There were the different Government treasuries all over the country at every *Sudder station*, as it was called, where the collector and deputy-collector resided, and in those treasuries the cash paid in on account of Government was allowed to accumulate. One collector might draw on another by bills of exchange for public purposes, the distribution of pay of Government servants, soldiers, and the like; and when one treasury ran short of cash, it had to be supplemented by the transfer of bullion

from a neighbouring treasury, where there happened to be a surplus. Thus, in time of peace, the old native army used to be employed in little else but conveying this treasure from one part of the country to another. At the most unfavourable seasons of the year, European officers would be liable to be called out into camp, in command of a detachment, and ordered, with so many thousand rupees, to a neighbouring collectorate. The duty was irksome to a degree, and the exposure to weather worse than often befel officers throughout a campaign; while the practice of keeping detachments of soldiers incessantly wandering about the country, away from head-quarters, and under command of a native officer, perhaps of a young European subaltern, was most injurious to discipline.

The whirlwind which passed over India in 1857 was violent and destructive, but it swept away a vast number of abuses, and many systems rotten to the core, and this among the rest. India was at last to have a paper currency, and if possible a gold currency. The banks of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay were substituted for the old treasuries, and they became in effect the Government treasuries, and were to act as agents in the issue of notes. The Act provides for the issue of notes in exchange for current silver coin, or standard silver bullion, at the rate of 975 rupees for every thousand "tolas" of silver fit for coinage, of which an assay may be required, at the expense of the person tendering; but issue for bullion may be refused at places where there is no mint—that is, of course, anywhere out of the Presidency cities; and the Governor-General in Council is empowered to direct that, to a specified extent, not exceeding one-fourth of notes, the issue may be in exchange for gold coin and gold bullion, at rates fixed by the order. The bullion and coin received in exchange for notes is to be retained, except so much (not exceeding four crores¹) as the Secretary of State for India shall fix to be invested in Government securities.

¹ A crore is ten millions.

The banks immediately began to set about establishing branches at other places, which should act as centres of the different circles within which the notes issued should constitute a legal tender at par. At first there was every appearance of success. The notes were a great accommodation to the European community, who were, of course, used to them, but the natives were not, and it takes a long time to introduce any sort of reform among so conservative a body; and even at the close of the sixth year from the passing of the Act, they prefer their own "hoondees."

The year 1861 is memorable for the creation of a new order of knighthood, the order of the Most Exalted Star of India. Honorary titles and distinctions are understood and appreciated at Oriental courts. The Mahommedan emperors bestowed them freely; and the Persian order of the "Lion and the Sun," and the Turkish order of the "Medjidieh," are familiar to us all. The idea of the Indian order of knighthood was a very happy one, for it served as a bond of union between men who distinguished themselves in arts or arms, in politics or literature, whether of Asiatic or European origin, and, emanating from the Crown, it formed a connecting link between it and the native princes, the distinguished soldiers and statesmen of India, who were deemed worthy of the knighthood. The insignia consists of a star and a badge and collar. The star is of five points in diamonds, resting on a blue enamelled ground, with the motto of the order, "Heaven's Light our Guide," circumscribed in brilliants, the whole surrounded with rays of gold. It is worn on the left breast. The badge is a cameo portrait of the Queen, on a ruby ground, surrounded with a circle, in which the motto is inscribed in rubies. This is surmounted by the star of five points in brilliants, and the whole is attached to a blue ribbon with white edge, to be worn over the right and under the left shoulder. The collar consists of the lotus-flower, alternating with crossed palm-branches set between two chains of gold, from the centre of which hangs a badge as above, ornamented by a

cross. The whole costs 900*l.* The robe or cloak, which is of ample dimensions, is of sky-blue satin.

With the view of lending as much *éclat* as possible to the ceremony, the same date was chosen for the investiture of the new knights at Windsor by her Majesty, and at Allahabad by her Majesty's representative. At Windsor, accompanied by the Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales, her Majesty conferred the honour on Sir John Lawrence, Sir George Pollock, Lord Clyde, Viscount Gough, and Lord Harris. Sir James Outram and Lord Combermere, who were not, however, able to be present owing to failing health, were also among the recipients. So also was the Maharaja Dhuleep Singh. At Allahabad, on the same day, Lord Canning, as Grand Master of the Order, conferred the investiture on Sir Hugh Rose, the Maharajas of Gwalior and Puttiala, the Nawab of Rampore, and the Begum of Bhopal. The Nizam of Hyderabad, the Raja of Cashmere, and the Guicowar of Baroda, were at the same time nominated knights of the Order, but the insignia were delivered to them subsequently by the political agent at their respective courts.

Much amusement was caused by the scant courtesy with which the honour was received by one of these potentates, the Nizam of Hyderabad. It was said, that for a long time he could not be prevailed on to take it at all; and when it was presented by the Resident, who is described as crawling to the foot of the throne, and delivering the insignia containing the cameo likeness of the Queen, the Nizam took it in his left hand (itself an insult), and then put it under him and sat upon it. Such is the story as it was told in all the Indian papers, and the affair has never been satisfactorily explained. That the Nizam contemplated any slight or insult is not to be supposed, for Orientals far surpass Europeans, and above all, Englishmen, in their studied observance of the courtesies and refinements of life. The Nizam might not have known exactly what to do with the insignia, and not being instructed how

to wear it, there being no superior there to put it on for him, as is generally the case when it is presented, he may have placed it down beside him on the "gaddee," or cushion which constitutes the throne, and there it might have been partially concealed by the loose drapery of an Oriental costume, and hence the report that he took the insignia and sat upon it. The Resident's crawling posture is intelligible, because, from an absurd custom in vogue, and even settled by treaty, it is the practice at most courts for the residents and political agents to conform to Oriental etiquette. And on state occasions, the Resident, with his staff, enters the hall of audience with bare feet—that is, divested of boots—and they squat down, in Oriental fashion, on their haunches, with their feet tucked under their legs. From this position, if you want to approach a neighbour who is seated at a little distance, and etiquette forbids you to rise, there is no help for it, you must support yourself on your hands and knees. If after this you are compelled to progress ever so little, the motion must take the form of an advance on all fours, and if in that posture it is necessary for you to use one of your hands in presenting a person with something, no matter what, the action necessarily places you in a still more absurd posture. So that it may be allowed that the Resident had difficulties to contend with; the fault really lying with the absurd custom which the Government have carried on since the days when the representatives of the East India Company at native courts were the representatives of a body of merchants, seeking for favours, and soliciting protection and privileges from the native sovereigns. Circumstances are changed now, and although it is right that every respect should be paid to a native sovereign, especially in his own court, yet the political agent, or resident, or whoever may be for the time the representative of the Queen, should not be required to adopt forms or an etiquette suitable only to subjects and inferiors.

The Star of India could only reach a few among the

heads of native society, and it was desirable to invent some method of conferring distinction and social position among the upper classes which could be more extensively distributed. With this view, the rank of honorary magistrates was created. While presiding at the distribution of degrees at the Calcutta University, Lord Canning took occasion to assure the natives that the object Government had in establishing its extensive and costly system of education was to teach them to govern themselves. The distribution of honorary magistracies looked like the first fulfilment of the promise. They were appointed first in Bengal, and subsequently in the North-West, in Oude, the Punjab, and the other provinces. The system has been found, on the whole, to work well ; but is liable to a good deal of abuse in the hands of narrow-minded men, who are apt to forget the principle on which these honorary magistracies should be conferred. The post is much coveted by the natives, more for the honour than the power it brings with it ; but in too many instances it has been indiscriminately bestowed on those who had little in their social position, or their attainments, or their local influence, to recommend them. By a little judicious distribution of money among the native subordinates of the courts, or about the persons of influential officials, or else by an affectation and display of liberality in sentiment or purse, men may succeed in wheedling local governors into conferring the distinction upon them and their relations. It is right, of course, that public spirit and liberality should be encouraged and rewarded ; but there should be some other method found for honouring men for donations to dispensaries, exhibitions, and the like, besides investing them with magisterial powers, which, in many such cases, they are not capable of wielding with credit to themselves or the Government that appoints them.

In addition to this, municipal institutions in the Presidency towns, afterwards extended to other places in the Mofussil, afforded a means of placing natives in a position where they might co-operate with English officials.

Meantime, the deplorable state of affairs throughout Bengal, the seat of the indigo disturbances, had resulted in the appointment of a commission of inquiry consisting of Mr. Morris and Mr. Montessoro. The inquiry was instituted in consequence chiefly of complaints urged on the notice of the Government, that the ryots had combined against the landlords, Europeans as well as natives, in a refusal to pay their rents, and that the spirit of resistance went so far as to inflict the punishment of social excommunication on all who took service with Europeans. The inquiry was not so satisfactory as might have been wished, for the Commissioners, instead of conducting it together, took separate parts of the district, each under his own investigation, and arrived at pretty nearly opposite conclusions. One was astonished at the orderly behaviour of the ryots, and their good feeling towards the planters; the other finds them guilty of fraud and forgery, and acts of violence and of combination. It is obvious that such a report could have very little weight. But the indigo districts of Bengal were suffering now from the consequences of the strike of the past year. The planters, who were landholders, naturally made use of the means within their reach to raise their rents. The ryots had refused to sow any more indigo as far back as 1859. The planters, then taking them at their word that they would not grow any more indigo because it was not remunerative, doubled the price they paid for it, and told the ryots that those who refused to grow it should have their rents raised. This, of course, was a remedy that only those could resort to who were zemindars as well as planters. Those who were not landholders mostly betook themselves to tea-planting. The tenants, at least in the district that fell to Mr. Morris's lot, resisted in every possible way the attempts of the landlord to exact his rent, and the feud at length reached the point where the law was forced to interfere. The ryots then found themselves deserted by their own leaders, who fleeced them, and then left them to fight their own battles;

the money they had received in former years was no longer there to relieve their daily wants; the inundation had swept off their rice crops; and finally, the epidemic fever, which followed on the subsidence of the waters, added the climax to their miseries. The unhappy struggle had ruined both parties; but, if the ryots contended for a principle, they may claim the victory, dear as it was purchased; and the indigo interests in Lower Bengal never recovered the blow.

The Small Cause Courts, introduced by Mr. Harrington's Act as one of the proposed remedies for the state of affairs in Bengal, were set up this year in sixteen districts; and, as affording a method of realizing small claims by a procedure more summary than the ordinary civil courts, they were calculated to do good. The new system of police, however, was not introduced into Bengal this year, although it was organized in other provinces where it was perhaps less urgently required—in Pegu, Tenasserim, Arracan, and the North-West, as also in Bombay.

Very little of any general interest transpired in the two minor presidencies, Madras and Bombay, during the year. Sir William Denison, who came from Australia with a good character as a popular governor, was by no means popular in Madras. The complaint urged against him was that he did nothing, not that he did wrong. The same fault was found with him that was at first found with Lord Canning—dilatatoriness, and an apparent *insouciance* and disregard of his duties and of the country generally. In both instances it might have arisen, certainly in the case of Lord Canning it did so, from a desire to master the difficulties of the situation, and to learn his duty before committing himself to any particular line of policy. It was scarcely to be expected that, having been so short a time in a country which was entirely a novel and a strange field to him, he should have inaugurated any new or important measures. When memorialized about the land tenures in a portion of his charge, he postponed the question for "further consideration," which was the wisest thing he could do. Mean-

time railways were pushed forward, and a stimulus given to the introduction and cultivation of the Cinchona plant in the Neilgherrie hills. Sir W. Denison also promptly acted upon the order known as "Lord Canning's waste lands order" in a part of the presidency favourable to coffee-growing, called Wynaad, where very sanguine hopes were at one time entertained of unprecedented success in coffee-planting, and Ceylon feared a rival. But the even tenor of the Governor's way was not interrupted by any of those exciting movements that disturbed the northern Presidency, while Madras and Bombay shared in the general measures of reform that were being pushed forward with all practicable speed by the Imperial Government at Calcutta, and especially they benefited in a much greater degree than Bengal by the impetus given to the cotton trade. The wild speculations and subsequent crisis in the money market which involved Bombay in so much distress will come before us in another chapter.

Some important changes were made during the year in a vast tract of territory which, in one sense, may be called the cotton field of India. The rich and fertile valley of Berar had been under our care and management ever since 1853, when it was assigned to us by the Nizam in lieu of a sum of money he was bound by treaty to pay towards the maintenance of the Hyderabad contingent; but a new treaty was this year concluded with the Nizam, by which a portion of it, the Raichori Dooab and the Dharaseo district, was restored, together with another district called Shorapore, which was thrown in as a sort of present or reward to the Nizam for keeping quiet during 1857. Berar is divided into two great districts, West and East Berar, recognised principally by the now well-known name of the chief cities Oomrawuttee in the west and Akola in the east. The population of the two districts is about the same, numbering, it is said, between five and six millions.

It was in the year 1861 that the Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Cotton, put forward a scheme, with which his name will

ever be associated in India, for establishing schools for the education of that large class of European children whose parents are unable to afford the expense of sending them to England. The scheme met with the hearty approval of the Secretary of State, and efforts were made to collect funds for the institution. The design was to collect money for a fund wherewith schools might be established all over the diocese of Bengal wherever they appeared to the committee to be the most urgently required. The sum necessary for carrying out on anything like an efficient scale so grand a design is immense, but the object is well worthy of the support of all who have at heart the interests of India. Year by year the European population of that vast country increases, but the increase, rapid though it be, has no visible effect, in consequence of the immense extent of territory over which the population is spread. There are no trustworthy returns extant giving any accurate estimate of the number of English residents in India, but it must be very large. It was remarked, at the time of the mutiny in 1857, how little the general public knew, of the existence even, of European families residing in the suburbs of native cities in Upper India, and of whose existence they only became aware, alas ! when it had been terminated by the mutineers. And people were startled at long lists of names of men, women, and children who had been murdered in places where no one seemed to be aware before there were any Europeans to be found at all. As a rule, but few military officers settle in India after they are entitled to a pension ; of civilians doing so, instances are very rare. But there are a vast number of clerks and *employés* in the service of Government and the railway, merchants, planters, tradespeople, besides retired pensioners from the ranks, and a few officers, for whose children the means of education were very scanty. The bulk of them could not afford to send their children to England, and they were thrown back on such resources as the country provided. In Upper India, almost the only institution for the education of boys and

girls was the Martinière, which had two branches, in Calcutta and Lucknow. The founder of this noble institution was a General Martin, who started in life as a drummer-boy in an English infantry regiment, went into the King of Oude's service, where he made himself generally useful, and being a shrewd man amassed enormous wealth, the bulk of which, at his death, he devoted to this praiseworthy object. But the existing schools at the Presidency towns, excellent as they were, could not meet the wants of families scattered over the length and breadth of the land.

One great part of the Bishop's scheme was to utilize the Himalayas, and to provide schools in healthy places like Mussoorie and Simla. There can be no question as to the advantage that is to be derived from these hill-schools. There is only one fear, and that is, lest they should tempt parents who with a little care and self-denial could afford to send their children to England, to forego that advantage, and rest content with a second-class education in the country ; for, with all the advantages of climate and scenery, with the best efforts of the most experienced masters, education in India is not, and can never be, the same thing as education in England. The deterioration of the Anglo-Saxon constitution in India is an inexorable law of nature, from which there is no escape. The theory of climatization is a fallacy long ago exploded. Every day that an Englishman remains in the East, he becomes less able to withstand the effects of climate. Nor does the intellectual part of our nature escape this influence. We miss every day in India a thousand associations, incidents, sights and sounds, by which our ideas, our thoughts, and feelings might be invigorated, quickened, and purified. As the polyp and sea-anemone kept in vivaria pine for what is to them life, we yearn for that contact of mind with mind, that elevating, freshening influence of civilization which can only be found in the great centres of human life in Europe and America. And as the fresh sea-water pumped into the vivarium once every six hours serves but to delude the occupants with a

counterfeit tide, and is but a sorry substitute, though it does enable them to maintain a languid existence which would otherwise totally decay, so the resources of literature and society which we have in India are but a makeshift after all, by which we do our best to repair the decay of mental vigour inseparable from a life of exile. The effect of this upon children is very striking. Here and there you meet exceptional instances, but as a rule an English boy or girl educated in the country, even under the happiest and most favourable circumstances, with all the advantages of hill climate and home influence, bears the same resemblance to a child educated in England as the indigenous horse of India does to the English thoroughbred. It is right that parents who cannot afford to send their children to England should have the means of giving them a good education in their adopted country, but it is to be feared that one result of the Bishop's schools will be that many a child who would have been brought up amid healthy influences in Great Britain, will be left to grow up to maturity amid the comparatively sickly and enervating moral atmosphere of an Indian school. Nowhere is the character of boys to be studied better than in a playground. Let anyone sit in the corner of a playground in a large Indian school, and listen to the conversation of the boys, their language, pronunciation, and general development of ideas and character. He will probably hear less actually bad language than in a similar place in England : but he cannot fail to be struck with the prevailing tone, the listlessness and want of energy in the boys' actions and gestures, their behaviour to each other, and a general want of the manliness and vigour which are observable in an English school.

Dr. Daltry, the Bishop of Madras, died early this year. He was a contemporary and friend of Simeon at Cambridge in early days, and was appointed Archdeacon of Calcutta in 1831. In 1840 he left India, and succeeded Baptist Noel at St. John's, Bedford Row, whence he was taken for the Madras bishopric. He was a good, guileless man, but

not gifted with those abilities, the best test perhaps of true greatness, which enable men to influence others.

Cast in a different mould from Bishop Daltry, but gifted with many sterling qualities, though they were destined to be exercised in another field altogether, and were combined with the utmost refinement to which the highest cultivation of mind and manner can attain, the Countess Canning, at the close of the year, preceded her husband, by but a short period, in her flight to a world where political animosities and social distinctions are forgotten. Lady Canning left Calcutta in the autumn for a short sojourn at Darjeeling, and on her way back caught a jungle fever, which developed itself about ten days after her return to Barrackpore. Perhaps there were never two people in the position Lord and Lady Canning held, who realized better in the mere outward observances of life the ideal of true nobility and gentle breeding. Courteous and affable, and at the same time dignified, Lord Canning had the faculty of making his guests feel at home, while at the same time as long as he was in the room they never lost the perception that they were in the presence of her Majesty's viceroy. And the Countess Canning, in her own sphere, exerted a similar influence. There was a shade of great sadness at times upon her features, which would have been painful to witness but for the spirit of sweetness and resignation that accompanied it. On terms of intimacy with the Queen, the childless Countess may have felt sadly at times in India the want of female sympathy and friendship. It is seldom the part of the historian to intrude into the private life of great people or public characters. But in India the tongue of scandal is never silent, and I may not in thought follow Lady Canning's mortal remains to the tomb her sorrowing husband had prepared for her at Barrackpore, without recalling, in open contradiction to the reports about the terms on which she was said to live with her husband, the impression I have received from one who was frequently in their society, when relieved for a time of the pressing

cares of state Lord Canning sought and found, in the companionship of one of the most refined and elegant women of her age, the solace of domestic happiness. His feelings at her loss found expression in the following words, which were subsequently inscribed as an epitaph over her tomb :—

“Honours and praises written on a tomb are at best a vain glory ; but that her charity, humility, meekness, and watchful faith in her Saviour, will, for that Saviour’s sake, be accepted of God, and be to her a glory everlasting, is the firm trust of those who knew her best and most dearly loved her in life, and who cherish the memory of the departed.”

Below this are the following lines :—

“The above words were written Nov. 22d, 1861, by Earl Canning, who survived his wife but seven months. He left India on the 18th March, died in London on the 17th June, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 21st June, 1862.”

CHAPTER VI.

1862.

The Legislative Council—The Mysore grant—Lord Canning's protest—Bombay and Madras Councils—The High Courts—Sale of waste lands—Sir Charles Wood's unpopularity—Redemption of land tax and permanent settlement—Physical changes in operation—Climate and irrigation—Railways—Increased cultivation—Ganges Canal—Extension of cotton cultivation—Tea—Causes of failure—Rising in the Hills—Treaty with Burmah—Official changes—Lord Canning's death—Sir John Peter Grant—Sir George Clerk—Police and Finance Commission.

THE new Legislative Council met on Saturday the 18th January. The visitor to the Council Chamber might have seen seated at the centre of a long table covered with green baize, facing the door, the noble figure of Lord Canning. On his right sat a native prince, calm and impassive, but showily and richly dressed. This was the Raja of Puttiala, a Sikh chieftain from Upper India, who had behaved with marked fidelity to the British Government in 1857. He was the first native member appointed to the Council under the new Act, and perhaps was better fitted to aid Her Majesty's Government in the field than in the council chamber. After attending several sittings, the Raja asked leave to bring in a bill. The permission could not be refused, and the object of the contemplated enactment was to prohibit the use of beef as an article of food. Next to the Raja of Puttiala sat Sir Bartle Frere; then another native member, Raja Deo Narain Singh, Raja of Benares; and next to him the strikingly tall figure of

Sir Cecil Beadon. On the left of Lord Canning sat Mr. Grey, the Secretary; then Mr. Harrington; then the Raja Dinker Rao, the astute Mahratta minister who kept Scindia, the Raja of Gwalior, straight during the troublous times of 1857, although others say that it was Scindia who kept his minister straight. But it only needed a glance at Scindia and his minister to see with which of the two the moral influence lay. Next to Dinker Rao came Mr. Erskine, and after him Messrs. Cowie, Fitzwilliam, and Forbes, the non-official element in the Council, for the independent influence of the native members was so small that they hardly deserve to be reckoned in that category. Mr. Wyllie, the deputy secretary, sat next to Mr. Forbes; the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir J. P. Grant, was placed immediately opposite Lord Canning; and after him Mr. Ritchie and Sir Robert (now Lord) Napier of Magdala.

The constitution of the new Council was given to it by the "Indian Councils Act" of 1861, alluded to in the last chapter.

With the exception of the presence of a small body of non-official members, that constitution was eminently despotic. It was never intended, indeed, that the power of the Viceroy and his Executive Council should be in any way interfered with by the legislative body. Ever since the free expression of opinions, and the attitude assumed by the popular party headed by the Chief Justice Sir Barnes Peacock, in the discussion that ensued upon the question of the Mysore Grant and the budget, the Government at home, as well as in India, seemed to have resolved to trample down the sickly little shoot of liberal principles that had thrust its head above the ground during the reaction of public feeling at the time of Mr. Wilson's appointment.

Even Mr. Wilson's English ideas in favour of representative government speedily gave way before the conviction forced upon him after his rapid tour through the country up to Lahore, that what India required was a firm govern-

ment. After the blow which had well-nigh staggered us in 1857, there was indeed need of firmness. And when, in the angry and excited state of feeling consequent upon Sir Charles Wood's policy in the matter of the Mysore Grant, the Council assumed something of the functions of a House of Commons, and called for papers, the fate of the sickly little shoot was sealed. It must be trampled down, and trampled down it was.

That India is not yet ripe for representative government is patent to every one. The native population have to go through many decades of education before they are fitted to exercise the right of suffrage, and before they find candidates suited for the Indian Parliament. Here and there might be found some of sufficient breadth of view and general intelligence to take part in a debate, to criticise a bill, to recommend a measure. But to entrust a house of native representatives with the power of a House of Parliament would be to surrender the country.

That the Legislative Council, however, should be improved by being deprived of the experience of a man like Sir Barnes Peacock, or that it would not be improved by a much larger admixture of the non-official element, both European and native, is indeed difficult to understand.

No one felt or resented the interference of Sir Charles Wood in the matter of the Mysore Grant more strongly than Lord Canning himself. The Mysore princes were the descendants of the sons of the notorious Tippoo Sultan, who after the death of their father at the capture of Seringapatam in 1799 had been brought over to Calcutta, where they had lived, and their children after them, ever since, in the receipt of a pension from the British Government. As the family increased in numbers in course of years, and bid fair to go on increasing, and as they refused to exert themselves, or do aught but live the lives of Eastern princes in luxurious indolence, Lord Dalhousie recommended that after the fourth generation the pension should cease. But the Directors, probably afraid of agitation in

England, declared that they could not turn the princes out, into the world to share Adam's curse and earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. The numbers of these claimants to eleemosynary support had arisen in 1850 to the alarming figure of twenty-two grandsons and thirteen great-grandsons, with their families and servants and pensioners, and the host of nondescript hangers-on that are a part and parcel of every Eastern court. What was to be done with them? Were we to go on pensioning the ever-increasing host of princelings and their satellites for all time; or were they to be told to go to seek their own bread? Lord Dalhousie, as has been stated, suggested stopping their pensions altogether after the fourth generation. Lord Canning was not averse to making an arrangement by which a permanent provision should be secured on a reasonable and moderate scale, but the family determined to try the experiment of an appeal to England.

Fully alive to the objectionable course of maintaining a large colony of princelings in mischievous idleness, Sir Charles Wood was desirous of making some arrangement by which they might become absorbed into the body of the people, and learn to be independent. So he proposed to allow the different members of the families to remove from Calcutta, and settle where they pleased; and in order to enable them to do this, he proposed to create a fund in India stock, the interest of which would be sufficient to maintain them. Accordingly a sum of 17,000*l.* per annum was allotted for their maintenance, an equal amount given to the existing heads of families for their lives, and a further sum for the purchase of residences. Altogether it amounted to 520,000*l.* But Sir Charles Wood justified the expenditure on the ground that the whole sum did not equal that originally set apart for their maintenance, or the interest of the sum which had accrued to the Government by withholding part of it for so many years.¹

¹ *Vide* "Sir Charles Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs." By Algernon West, late Private Secretary. P. 140.

Sir Charles Wood thus expressed himself upon these points, in his despatch dated February 4, 1861 :—

“When I review all the circumstances of British relations with the families of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan from the time of the conquest of Mysore ; when I advert to the terms of the treaty of 1799, to the revenue of the territory assigned for the maintenance of the country ; when I consider the intentions of the framers of the treaty, the recorded opinion of Lord Wellesley, and especially of the Duke of Wellington, who remonstrated against the illiberal manner in which effect was given to a treaty he helped to negotiate ; when I refer to the accounts of the appropriated Mysore Deposit Fund, and know that in the year 1806, when neither of the contingencies contemplated in the treaty as grounds for a reduction of the payment to the family had occurred, there were accumulations to the credit of the fund greater than the amount which I have ordered to be distributed amongst existing members of the family ; when I consider that since that time the sums actually paid to the descendants of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan fell short of those specified in the treaty by a larger amount than that which I have ordered to be capitalized as a permanent provision for the family ; that the annual amount now paid to existing incumbents is below that stated in the treaty ; and that on the death of these incumbents, many of whom are of advanced age, the territories assigned for the maintenance of the family will revert to the British Government in perpetuity, free from all charge or incumbrance ; and when I bear in mind the claims of a body of men descended from a sovereign prince to generous sympathy and beneficent treatment, and the benefit which they will derive from being placed in a position of honourable independence, I cannot think that the demands of justice and humanity would have been satisfied by any less liberal arrangement than that which has been directed by Her Majesty’s Government.”

This drain upon the Indian revenue certainly came at an inauspicious moment, when the finances were in such a state that it was deemed necessary to send Mr. Wilson out to see after them, when there was an enormous deficit, and the only hope of balancing our receipts and expenditure lay in a stern and ruthless exercise of the shears in cutting down departments, abolishing offices, reducing salaries, and in taxing the people. The announcement was received in India with a yell of indignation, which found an echo within the walls of the Council, and put back for a half century, probably, the progress of India towards a representative Government.

Lord Canning had entered a dignified and a firm protest against this unheard-of interference with the administration of Indian affairs. He said in a minute, dated 20th August, 1860, to which the portion of the despatch from the Secretary of State just quoted is a reply:—

“The circumstances of the time must be my excuse if I say that this is a grievous weight to put upon the State, when every nerve is being strained to reduce and keep down expenditure, and when risk and odium are being incurred by the raising of new taxes.

“The Home Government cannot be fully aware of the refusals and postponements with which the most urgent requests for increased expenditure in various departments of civil administration are almost daily met by the Governor-General in Council, even when based on the clearest justice and expediency. But the general necessity under which we lie of avoiding for the present every increase of expense that can by possibility be avoided, must surely be understood in England.

“Here it certainly is not by the Government alone this new infliction is felt. The arrangement has been paraded in the newspapers (not by the authority of Government), and is known to the public at large; and I have reason to believe that it is viewed as a very unreasonable burden by many who are now being called upon for the first time to pay a direct tax to the State, and who are therefore more inclined than they have hitherto been to criticise the disposal of the State's money.

“Usually the Government of India has been consulted by the Home Government when measures affecting the position of the chiefs or great families of India have been in question, and especially when any considerable expenditure, hitherto unlooked for, has been involved. In the present instance, the Governor-General in Council was not apprised of such measures being contemplated.

“Had he been so apprised, it would have been his duty to suggest for consideration some points which seem to have been entirely overlooked in England.

“Admitting that it is desirable and just that there should be some permanent future provision made for the Mysore family, it would have been his duty to submit that the present and general increase of their stipend is not called for.”

And again, in alluding to the blow which was dealt to the prestige of the Viceroy of India by such an ignoring of his authority, he adds:—

“Now it is very probable that, the result of Prince Goham Mahomed's voyage to England being known, other natives of high rank who may have favours to ask will follow his example. It will be for the Secretary

of State to judge whether their claims too shall be decided in England without reference to the Governor-General in Council.

"I venture to think that, apart from the burden which may be put upon the revenue unnecessarily and unseasonably by such a course, there are strong reasons for adhering to the former practice of receiving the representations of all such claimants through, or of referring them to, the Government of India.

"With the increasing facility and habit of visiting England, and with the tendency which the assumption of the government of India by the Crown has naturally had to direct all eyes to England, it has become more than ever desirable that, with the view of upholding the authority of the Governor-General in Council, natives should not, whatever their rank, be encouraged to address their claims direct to the Home Government.

"It cannot be a good thing that a native prince, however high in rank or loyal in disposition, should go about vaunting the influence which he has been able to exercise in England in the acquisition of his desires, as Prince Golam Mahomed has done.

"I have before had occasion to remark (I believe with the approval of Her Majesty's Government) that 'it is not a proper or a wise policy to lead the native chiefs to look beyond the Queen's representative in matters affecting their rights and titles, and the engagements made with them,' and that 'it is a mistake to suppose that by so doing their loyal and orderly subordination to the Queen's Government would be promoted.'

"These remarks had not reference to the rights or claims of stipendiary chiefs, but they are not the less applicable to such chiefs. I refer to them now, not from any jealousy for the authority of an office which I shall soon lay down, but because I am convinced that to hold India well in hand, the influence of the Governor-General in Council ought to be increased and not diminished in the eyes of the natives, and that weakness will result to the Government of India by attracting their attention and their hopes from India to England. It appears to me that the tendency of some recent proceedings has been in this last-named direction; but however this may be, the fact that a pensioned prince, leaving Calcutta without any avowal of his purpose (indeed with a studious concealment of it, as regards myself), has been able to obtain from Her Majesty's Government an augmentation of the stipends and grants to his family by the vast amounts ordered in the despatch of the 11th of June, and that he has claimed payment with only a few days' foreknowledge on the part of the Government, and at a time of notorious financial pressure, is a significant one. All this is as well known in the bazars and streets of Calcutta as in the Council Chamber of Government House, or at the India Office in London; and it will not tend to elevate the Government of India in the estimation of the public, native or European."

Such was the history of the Mysore Grant, which was loudly condemned by the Legislative Council; Sir Barnes Peacock heading the malcontents by questioning the extent to which the treaty as originally construed was binding on us at all. Care was taken that in the new Council there should be no opportunity for a similar expression of public opinion to find vent. The president is the Viceroy, or some one nominated by him; he may adjourn any discussion or vote, any meeting or business—whether a quorum be present or no—to any future time. A member may call for papers, as “spirits from the vasty deep,” but the President shall determine whether he shall have them or no. And, thirdly, the President may suspend the constitution of the Council—for sufficient reasons. After a bill has passed it must receive the assent of the Governor-General in Council as Viceroy, besides the assent he gives as President of Council; and after an unhappy bill has struggled into existence against all these odds, it may be vetoed by the Secretary of State.

Such is the constitution of the Indian Legislative Council, the non-official members of which are nominated by the Governor-General. But, indeed, it matters little by whom they are nominated, as it is clear that they are but a cypher, a “sham and a wind-bag,” as Dr. Johnson would have called them. Even the public, or reporters for the press, were only admitted on Mr. Laing’s urgent representation. It is a great misfortune that the term “Legislative Council” was retained, because the phrase conveys to the mind the idea of a real council met together for free debate and to frame laws; and we shall see in the sequel of the history how, even in such an assembly, the non-official members have met with scant courtesy, and been desired in other words “to hold their tongues.” But in England, people who hear of the Calcutta Legislative Council are apt to get the idea that it is really a legislative council in the same sense as the phrase is used in the colonies and other dependencies of Great Britain, where

there is a real freedom of debate and interchange of opinion; and so they come to give much greater weight to the proceedings of the Council than they deserve, supposing them to be in some sense a reflection of the popular voice supported by the weight of public opinion, instead of being the acts of a small clique of officials which may be annulled by the simple fiat of the Viceroy or the Secretary of State.

From 1833 to 1861 the minor presidencies had had no legislative council of their own, but their laws were all manufactured for them by the legislators who sat in Calcutta. In 1833 a legal member nominated by the Crown was added, and in 1853 a member of the Civil Service from each presidency and lieutenant-governorship was nominated as a sort of representative from his own province, and at the same time two judges of the Supreme Court were privileged to sit in council. By the new Act the minor presidencies received again the privilege of having legislative bodies of their own, but they were not to interfere with the army, customs, public debt, or any question of Imperial interest. The Bombay Council met on the 22d January, and that of Madras on the 4th February. In Madras Sir W. Denison appointed three officials and an equal number of non-officials, of the latter of whom one was a native. In Bombay Sir George Clerk appointed seven, out of whom four were non-official, three being natives and one an English gentleman, for which he was belauded by the natives exactly in proportion to the extent to which he was cried down by the Europeans.

As to the comparative value of a European or a native in council, it is mere dogmatism to assert, as is so often done, that the superiority lies wholly with the Anglo-Saxon. As a general rule, applicable in principle only—for in each instance the question of comparative efficiency must rest upon the selection made and the individual merits of the nominee—the Englishman will of course have the advantage in breadth of view, independence of thought and

feeling, and political education: on the other hand, the native has the advantage of acquaintance with the country and the feelings of the people, and it is India after all, and not England, that is being legislated for. But what is of much more importance than the comparative qualifications of the Englishman and the native, is the fact, generally overlooked, that experience gained in Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras, is of very little more use in legislating for all India than that gained in London or Melbourne. Nor is there much less want of sympathy between the European and the native than there is between the natives of Upper India and the class known as Young Bengal and Young Bombay.

One would have thought the Council as thus constituted was sufficiently secured from all tendency to freedom of debate or procedure; but, to take away even the slight shadow of resemblance to a House of Commons which some member might at a future time have been so infatuated as to imagine he beheld, Sir Charles Wood subsequently sent out instructions to Lord Elgin, who had meantime succeeded Lord Canning, that such terms as "sessions" and "prorogation" were not to be used, and that the right was reserved to the Viceroy of publishing a bill when the Council was not sitting without asking leave to bring it in.

Another important measure of this year was the amalgamation of the courts. The old Supreme Court and the old Sudder Court at the three Presidency towns were abolished, and an amalgamated court called the High Court substituted in their room by charter. One-third of the judges by the Act must be barristers of five years' standing, and two-thirds members of the Civil Service who have been judges of zillahs or district courts for at least three years. The High Court at Agra, now Allahabad, was not created till a year or two subsequently. At the same time, the Civil Procedure Code in vogue in India in every court not established by royal charter was intro-

duced into the High Courts of the Presidencies, much to the disgust of the bar, but very much to the advantage of the client, for one uniform procedure thus became generally adopted throughout India.

The opening of the new Council and of the new Courts were the only constitutional measures carried out this year. But Sir Charles Wood, the *bête noir* of the Indian Government, continued to deal his blows against the prerogative of the Viceroy with unabated vigour. Lord Canning, there is no doubt, felt bitterly the humiliation to which he was subjected, and Lord Elgin is said to have remarked shortly after he came into power that his predecessors were Governor-Generals, but that he had not authority to confer a pension of two pounds a month on a retired clerk. Of course so long as the constitution of the Government provides a machinery whereby all the Viceroy's public acts are liable to be cancelled, and it is required that they should receive confirmation by the higher authority of the Secretary of State before being effective, neither the Viceroy nor the public have any reason to complain of that machinery being set in motion. Whether the Viceroys of India, and Lord Canning was the first, have fully realized the fact of their subordination to the Secretary of State, there are no means of knowing; but certainly the incessant, and, as it appeared to the outside world, the occasionally abrupt, interference of Sir Charles Wood with many of the measures of the Indian Government, had the effect of lowering very much the prestige of the local Government among the natives, and to a certain extent no doubt weakened the power of the executive. I am not depreciating the principle of that interference. When the Viceroy, as is the case in India, is necessarily so much under the influence of a small clique of officials, and the Government is practically an oligarchy, the check that is capable of being applied to tyrannical, or oppressive, or unjust measures, by a higher authority in England, situated at a distance from the vortex of petty prejudice and

passion that too often sway the councils of the Government in a place like India, is most wholesome and salutary. The outcry against Sir Charles Wood among all the European community in India was very loud. The unpopularity with which Lord Canning was at one time regarded was all transferred to the Secretary of State. And during the latter part of Sir C. Wood's tenure of office, there was literally nothing too bad to be said of him. Every unpopular measure, every distasteful order affecting either of the three services, was invariably ascribed to him. In private circles or in public, to say a word in his defence was to draw down on yourself a portion of the odium with which that official was viewed. In the army especially, while the ill-conceived and ill-ordered amalgamation was being carried out, every order, every measure, every act of government which injuriously affected the interests of any class, was attributed to some hostile feeling which Sir Charles Wood was supposed to entertain towards the officers of the old Indian army, whose ruin, according to popular representations, he was for ever plotting. It was utterly vain to combat this notion, and so deeply was it engraven in the minds of all classes, that if such a mode of expressing political feeling had been common among Anglo-Indians, the Secretary of State would have been burnt in effigy every night in every garrison, and in every place where more than two Englishmen were to be found together. He occupied the place which the Pope fills in the Protestant mind of England every fifth of November. The natives, on the other hand, regarded him in quite a different light; and I am quite sure that the fact of there being an appeal from the decision of the local Government to a higher authority in England, however distasteful it may be to officials on the spot, is a source of untold satisfaction and confidence to the whole native population.

So would the European community regard it, if they knew their own interests. But in 1862, to borrow a meta-

phor from Hindoo mythology, Lord Canning had become the Avatar of Anglo-Indian worship, and Sir Charles Wood the antagonistic demon ever seeking its destruction.

The next interference by the Secretary of State with the measures of the local government, which gave great umbrage, was the practical annulment of Lord Canning's resolution for the sale of the waste lands. This measure was no new design hastily conceived, for as far back as 1858, Lord Stanley, when Secretary of State, had desired Lord Canning to collect information and prepare a scheme for selling the waste cultivable land, as well as parting with the fee simple of lands owned by Government, by means of the redemption of the land-tax. Why the measure had lain so long in abeyance is not known. Perhaps Lord Canning's attention was too much occupied with other matters, or perhaps it was not till the cotton crisis and the famine that the probable advantages of the scheme forced themselves upon his notice. At any rate it was not till October 1861 that the resolution appeared offering waste lands for sale in fee simple. The date is not unimportant, and so anxious was the author of the scheme to see it carried out, that he took the somewhat unprecedented course of officially desiring those who wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to take up land, not to wait for legislation on the subject.

He retired in March 1862, and almost his last act was to introduce into council his bill giving the authority of a legal enactment to his proceedings. Now all this time the measure was before Sir Charles Wood. He had from October to March to express his dissent from the scheme, if he did dissent. He knew its importance. He knew that the moment the resolution had been published, it was received with acclamation by all parties. He knew that applications for grants of land were pouring in from all sides. He knew that in England companies were being formed to purchase estates in India, yet it is strange he took no steps to express disapproval; on the contrary, he

allowed things to take their course. But after Lord Canning was dead—for he died very shortly after his return to England—the Secretary of State issued orders superseding the late Viceroy's resolution, and practically annulling it. All India stood aghast. Those who had bought lands, but whose purchase was not complete, complained loudly that they had been deceived. The enthusiasm with which the resolution had been received, and with which English planters and capitalists were preparing to settle down in India, suddenly cooled. Companies suspended their operations, and intending speculators shut up their purses, and betook themselves to Australia or some other colony where the government was a little less arbitrary and capricious, and where there was a restraining power in the shape of public opinion, or a hope of satisfaction from an appeal to Parliament. Meantime, officials under some local governments, taking the cue from their superiors, adopted every shuffling and quibbling artifice they could to put an end to bargains already half made, and get rid of the *bête noir* of Indian officialism—the European settler.

By the new resolution, dated 9th June, 1862, waste lands, instead of being sold as had been directed, at so much an acre, were to be sold in plots or blocks by auction at an upset price which the local government might fix. Now if the object was to get European settlers to come to India—and Lord Canning made no secret that such was the end he contemplated in issuing the resolution, and Sir Charles Wood professed to concur with him—it was about the last thing likely to forward such an object, allowing the local governments to fix an upset price on land; for it obviously left it in the power of a small clique of officials to put a prohibitory price on it if it were likely to be purchased by any one who was obnoxious to them.

Acquaintance with the site of valuable blocks of jungle land in India is not to be acquired very easily, and Lord Canning's resolution plainly aimed at both rewarding

energy and encouraging a wholesome spirit of enterprise. For unless a plot selected was in the proximity of a town, or there was any cause for making it specially valuable, in which case it was to be put up to auction, the person who discovered the site—a discovery which perhaps was not made without toil and risk—derived some advantage for his trouble, for he had but to apply for the land and it was his on compliance with the necessary conditions. But Sir C. Wood totally forgot that waste land in India does not lie by the road-side, where you can inspect it during a morning ride, and he offered but little inducement to a man to spear out desirable localities whereon to settle. For, first of all, the local authorities must make themselves acquainted with the site, so as to fix the price; then the applicant must deposit the cost of the survey, and then it has to be surveyed. Each one of these regulations is in itself calculated to act as a prohibition; and certainly the clause regarding the survey is; for in many parts of the country, unless the jackals and bears could have been prevailed upon to occupy some of their spare time in surveying the block, there would be but little prospect of getting the work done. Sir Charles Wingfield stated that this work could be done by qualified natives, of whom he said there was any number who had been turned out professional surveyors from the Government colleges. Now the Government colleges do not, as a rule, teach surveying at all, with the exception of the Roorkee institution; and the students from that mostly enter Government service, so that it would have been extremely difficult to find this host of ready-made surveyors, except on paper. But under such a system, who in the world would take the trouble to go and find out a valuable block of land for the sake of seeing it bought over his head by some one with a long purse? An intending settler might after severe toil and exposure discover a site, and after depositing his money and getting it surveyed, have the satisfaction of seeing it purchased at auction by a native banker acting on a hint from the

collector. Had it been designed to hedge round the purchase of waste lands with prohibitory injunctions, without the appearance of actually cancelling Lord Canning's resolution, it could hardly have been accomplished more effectually than by Sir Charles Wood's regulations.

But, in truth, there was a great deal of misunderstanding on both sides of this question. Waste land, in the sense of land having no owner, and waste land in the sense of uncultivated land, are two different things. Of the latter there is no lack in India. Thousands and thousands of acres in every part of the country meet the eye, even of the traveller who pursues his unadventurous way by train. Any one who traverses the continent either in pursuit of science or at the call of duty, may pass, if he go so far, over thousands of miles of uncultivated land covered with stunted vegetation, the abode of the jackal and the deer. But if he imagines the land has no owner, he will be much mistaken. Let him set up a claim, or begin to plough up a portion of it, and valueless as it is he will very soon discover the landlord. Even in jungle districts or virgin forests it will often happen that the zemindar of the neighbouring village—whether that village be one or twenty miles off—will put in a claim for the whole tract. Of course such claims are not easily substantiated. But Sir C. Wood had the then recent events in New Zealand fresh in his recollection. He made no distinction in his own mind between the New Zealander and the native of India, and he dreaded a repetition of what had occurred in the South Pacific. Those who know India perceive how groundless are such fears. Hardy as are some of the natives of the Upper and Central Provinces, there are none that can be compared for a moment with the Maori : and tenacious as the Indians are of their rights in land, the settler is not likely to be called on to compete with them in any field more fatal than the civil courts. The different parties, however, who contested so hotly the policy of Lord Canning and Sir Charles Wood, might have saved themselves the trouble. English capitalists and

colonists will never settle in India as long as there is land to be had in Canada, New Zealand, America, Vancouver's Island, or the Cape. Indeed, as to colonists, the idea of Englishmen "colonizing" the plains of India in the same sense as they do Australia or Canada, and other countries similarly situated, is a mere chimera.

No doubt Lord Canning's resolution was faulty in one respect. He allowed thirty days for a claimant to come forward and establish or set up his right to a plot of land selected for purchase, and within one year from date of sale an owner might recover compensation. The first clause was defective, because thirty days were not long enough; the second conveys a privilege which ought not to have been granted.

Heretofore we have been considering waste lands in the sense of jungle lands. There is another kind of waste land in India, viz. common land, or uncultivated tracts lying contiguous to cultivated, but without an owner. With regard to land of this kind, Lord Canning's resolution was fair enough. He laid down that the owner of the cultivated land to which such tracts were contiguous should have the right of pre-emption. If he did not choose to exercise that right, then in that case, after an interval of five years, and if the land was still waste, it might be sold. Sir C. Wood, however, ruled that in such a case the purchaser should not get a title till the twelve years—the period allowed by the limitation clause of Act X. of 1859—had elapsed. Added to all which, when the different provinces published their detailed rules under the new resolution, many of them added a proviso that the purchaser should hold his grant subject to any future legislation as to the claims of third parties.¹ So it is hardly to be wondered at that applications for waste land in India were not numerous.

There were two other important questions which received the attention of Sir Charles Wood and the Council at the same time as the waste lands resolution, viz. the proposed

¹ *Friend of India.*

redemption of the land-tax and the Permanent Settlement. The latter measure met with the approval of the Council and the Secretary of State, as it has met with that of a large party in India. The operation of the former was practically restricted to the land purchased by settlers under the new resolution.

But, in point of fact, the proposed redemption of the land-tax is a subject scarcely worth discussing, for the simple reason that natives will not avail themselves of the privilege. They have not sufficient confidence in the permanence of British rule, or in British good faith, to run the risk of paying down twenty years' purchase in commutation. Let the offer be made ever so widely, it will not be accepted save in a few exceptional cases, and, in fact, there was not a single application from all the North-West Provinces and Oude during the six months that the experiment was tried. The project, it may be added, would never have been entertained by any one who had any actual knowledge of the feelings and prejudices of the people.

As to the Permanent Settlement so strongly recommended by a large school of politicians, the Government might be advised to act on the principle illustrated by Shekh Sadi in the Gulistan. A certain king had sentenced a man to death. The criminal advised the king not to carry out the sentence. He was asked why. "Because," he said, "if you kill me now the chances are you will hereafter change your mind and believe me innocent, and then it will be impossible for you to undo what you have done." The introduction of the Permanent Settlement is, it is true, recommended by a large class of writers, but it is with equal vehemence opposed by others who have as many claims to attention on the score of practical knowledge and experience as the first. It must be at the best a doubtful experiment; and the fact that the measure, once carried out, cannot be undone, but will be binding on us for all time, ought to make the Government very cautious

how they introduce it. Until it has been carried into effect, we are free to try experimental measures, and, as a last resource, after all we can fall back on it.

In his minute upon the revenue administration of India, submitted to the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, the Right Hon. Holt McKenzie, alluding to the Settlement, says: "Fully admitting the propriety of creating a private property in land where it may not have existed, and of giving considerable value to it where it may have possessed little or no value, I confess I cannot altogether applaud the policy which limited for ever the reserved rent of the Indian exchequer, and that in a condition of things so little advanced towards the state of improvement which we may reasonably anticipate, and to which a perpetual limitation of the public rent seems to be in no degree necessary. I do not refer to the glaring inequalities which disfigured the Settlement actually made; these were incidental, though sufficiently discreditable to the authorities that permitted them to occur in an arrangement irrevocably sanctioned. They do not affect the principle of the measure. Independently of any such defects, it seems to me that the Perpetual Settlement must be held to have been a very improvident proceeding."¹ But, indeed, it would be easy to fill many pages with the opinions of very high authorities against this measure, as also with many good authorities in favour of it. There is reason to believe that many of the glaring inequalities and defects to which Mr. Holt McKenzie alludes, have been lost sight of, and overlaid with statements and opinions in favour of the measure during the time that has elapsed since it was first carried out. But it is clear, from a perusal of the official and parliamentary papers of 1817 and 1832, that on both these occasions, when the question was thoroughly sifted and discussed, the weight of authority was against a further extension of the system; and,

¹ Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, 1832, vol. iii. p. 308.

although that ought not to be any guide for Indian politicians in the present day, if they can discover fallacies in the arguments formerly adduced, or if the condition of the country has undergone such changes as to make that desirable in 1868 which was deemed undesirable in 1832, yet the opinions recorded in the voluminous proceedings of the Select Committee, and the numerous minutes and despatches that have been written on the subject, may not lightly be disregarded. There are, of course, some tracts of country where such an arrangement might be made with due regard to the general interests of the whole empire. But India is now passing through a transition state. It is impossible for the most far-seeing politician to estimate the probable value of land ten years hence. During the last thirty years India has so much changed that, except for the colour of the people, and perhaps the climate, you would hardly recognise it as the same. It is all very well to assert that the Permanent Settlement has been a success in Bengal. Even allowing, for the sake of argument, that it has as regards Bengal itself, it must be remembered that Bengal is an integral part of the empire, and must not be regarded as if it stood alone, an isolated province, and was not called on to bear its share of Imperial burdens.

The following figures exhibit the proportions in which Bengal Proper and the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras contribute to the Indian revenue :¹—

	Population.	Square Miles.	Taxes.	Average per head.
			£	Rs. As.
Bengal . .	40,852,397	277,000	8,189,067	2 0
Madras . .	23,127,855	128,551	6,141,126	3 12
Bombay . .	10,021,305	80,000	41,654,295	4 0

So that while Bengal, with its 277,000 square miles of the most fertile land in the world, pays but eight millions to the State, Madras with its 128,000 square miles, and its population only a little more than half of that of Bengal, pays six millions.

¹ *Vide* returns in the *Times of India*, Dec. 21, 1861.

There are many reasons for believing that, compared to what it was in very early days, the climate of India has undergone a total change. One strong indication of this are the traces and remains of buildings and enormous cities which meet us everywhere, erected by the former inhabitants on a scale of magnificence and grandeur which the present race of natives could not be conceived under any circumstances capable of compassing.

Such a deterioration in physical development as would account for the difference between the present race and the inhabitants of India before Alexander's time, making allowance for the admixture of Northern blood consequent on the various invasions of India by races from Upper and Central Asia, can be explained only by supposing that changes have occurred in the climate similar to those which have taken place in Italy and other countries. There was, in all probability, as much difference between the ancient and modern Indians as between the ancient and modern Greeks and Romans; and without searching for the causes of deterioration in the latter instances, the phenomenon in India may be fully accounted for by a change of climate. Certainly there is no country in the world where at different seasons Nature wears so different an aspect. In Bengal, and the southern part of India, especially near the coast, it is pretty much the same all the year round; but all over Central and Upper India, the rich verdure, the brilliant foliage, tinted with every possible shade of brightest green, the luxuriant crops, the rivers, brooks, and small lakes, that form the characteristic features of the country during the periodical rains, is as utterly different to the parched-up appearance of the same land a month before as it is possible to conceive. Then the earth is like iron under your feet, and the sky white with heat; the trees, shrubs, dry river-beds, and the whole surface of the soil and everything on it the same brown colour, like burnt clay. An extensive system of artificial irrigation, and the growth of forest-trees on a large scale, would even now so totally alter the

character of a great part of Upper India, as to transform it, in climate at least, into another country.

Another cause of future change, the result of which no one can at present foresee, is at work in the development of railways. We are only just commencing to sketch out the nucleus of that network of iron roads which will one day overspread India and alter the channels of commerce, and most materially affect the value of land. While we were constructing a thousand miles of railway in India, there were twenty thousand constructed in America, and mostly with English capital. But our progress, though slow, is sure, and will become more rapid, doubtless, as time goes on. In no country in the world, perhaps, are railways better appreciated than they are in India. Wherever they appear they stimulate commerce and agricultural industry, and diffuse among the masses a spirit more approaching that of Western civilization than anything that we before have witnessed. Traversing vast tracts, as railways do in India and America—in the former case affording practically the only communication between rich agricultural districts and the sea-board, or the great centres of population and the markets—land in their neighbourhood increases in value in an untold ratio.

In the ten years between 1850 and 1860, the cultivation increased in five collectorates in the Bombay Presidency from below six millions to upwards of ten millions of acres. This was under a low assessment, which was fixed at a time when the value of land was much depressed. But in course of years the value increased enormously, on account chiefly of the rise of the export trade, and general growth of prosperity. Throughout one collectorate, that of Nuggur, the average rate of assessment was eight annas, or a shilling an acre; but in consequence of the change in the value of money, and other causes, it was practically reduced to half that, or sixpence an acre, and that under a thirty years' lease!¹

¹ *Times of India.*

During the famine of 1860-1 in the North of India, an estimate was made by Colonel Turnbull, of the Engineers, of the probable results of the Ganges Canal. This estimate should not be taken as being very accurate. Accuracy in such a calculation was impossible; but as an estimate it may illustrate the subject. The canal was calculated to produce 339,243,840 lbs. of grain, sufficient for 464,718 men, and the same number of women and children, per diem for a year, and fodder sufficient to support the cattle of the whole district through which the canal flows, besides causing a circulation of 120 lacs of rupees, or 12,000,000/.

Without pursuing further this subject, which would easily occupy a volume in itself, let us ask whether a country where art and nature are working such modifications is ripe for a perpetual settlement? Bengal, with its fertile soil and thriving population, pays three annas and a half an acre; while Madras pays seven, and Bombay the same; an inequality of taxation which it would be assuredly unjust, even if it could be shown to be politic, to stereotype.

The effort to promote the extension of cotton cultivation was this year carried out with unabated vigour. Sir Charles Wood even sanctioned an expenditure of 3,000,000/ from the cash balances for reproductive public works, but it was found impossible to procure labour to that extent. Prices of cotton continued to rise, and "Surats" went up to sixteen pence. This was a year of great distress in Lancashire, and India was of some service in remitting 70,000/ towards the fund for the relief of the operatives; but her best aid, perhaps, was the million and a quarter of bales of cotton she shipped to Liverpool. Meantime, 30,000/ were voted for temporary works on the Godavery in the Madras Presidency, with the view of tapping the cotton districts in the Central Provinces. The navigation of the Godavery is seriously impeded by three great barriers, or bars of rock,

which cross the river in three different spots, and it is the removal of these barriers which has for so long occupied the attention of the Madras Government. This grant of 30,000*l.* for temporary works was not intended to supersede the operations for opening out the navigation of the river permanently. In the Bombay Presidency roads were sanctioned from Poona to the frontiers of Mysore, at a cost of 27,000*l.* Other grants for similar purposes were made in other provinces at the rate of 15,000*l.* in the North-West Provinces, 7,000*l.* in Nagpore, and 2,500*l.* in Berar; sums that appear ludicrously inadequate for the objects to which they were devoted, but they were granted from the Imperial revenue for local improvements at a time of great financial pressure, and were necessarily cut up into small fragmentary portions, owing to the vast extent of country over which the money had to be spread, and proportionate also to the amount of labour likely to be profitably employed.

The attention of private speculators had for many years been directed to the cultivation of tea in Assam, and more recently in the North-West of India and the Punjab. In Assam the plant is indigenous. In Upper India it is not so, the seed having been imported in the first instance from China. With the view of encouraging as much as possible the growth of tea, and at the same time of improving the quality, the Government established experimental gardens in Upper India, under the supervision of Dr. Jamieson, the superintendent of the botanical gardens at Saharunpore, in the North-West Provinces. Dr. Jamieson's reports speak most favourably of the prospects of tea cultivation; and small gardens in the hands of one or two private speculators having turned out eminently successful, the rage for tea planting spread rapidly among the European community. The natives never seem to have taken to it with any zest. But a vast number of English, principally retired officers and others, living in the Himalayas and the adjacent valleys, engaged in it. The tea-plant is hardy,

and survived wonderfully the series of experiments made by hands altogether unskilled in that branch of horticulture. The mania spread like an epidemic. Companies were started by officers in the service, who invested all their hard-earned savings in estates which were to yield a fortune in a few years' time. Patience was the only thing required; capital and skill—above all, experience in tea planting and manufacture—were quite secondary matters. Elaborate prospectuses set forth the yield per bush, the number of bushes in an acre, the expense of cultivation, and the market price. The statements were a little overdrawn, perhaps, but the scheme appeared so plausible that numbers were eager to invest. Assam shares, which had been bought some years back for five or ten rupees, were selling for five hundred. By the present year, 1862, almost every available plot of ground suitable for tea had been taken up in the Kangra district, in the Punjab, in Kumaon, in Darjeeling, in the Dera Doon. In Assam, planters might be reckoned by hundreds; upwards of a hundred had settled in the valley of Cachar, which a few years ago was an uninhabited jungle. In Central India, on the high lands, in the Deccan, in the Neilgherries, the same state of things prevailed; while in Coorg, and the Wynaad, and other districts in the Madras Presidency, similar energy was being bestowed on coffee planting. India was suddenly represented in the character of an agricultural El Dorado, where gold and silver were to be plucked off the tea, coffee, and cotton bushes, instead of dug out of the ground. The tea fever did not reach its height in this year, but it may be as well to anticipate a little, and relate in this place the results of the epidemic. In 1860-1-2, and in 1863, with the exception of a few long-headed men who were vastly in the minority, tea-planting was considered as a certain road to a moderate fortune. Banks advanced large sums on the security of plantations—a sure sign that confidence was placed in the speculation at that time. Of course the inevitable reaction came. The

elaborate prospectuses, that set forth the most unexceptionable tabular statements, showing the amount of profits to be derived, might have been correct, but they took no account of one thing which in all prospective views of human affairs should be allotted its proper place. If it is ignored and put out of court altogether, it invariably revenges itself for the contumely by asserting its right to be considered, and that is CIRCUMSTANCE. The tea companies failed, failed altogether, failed everywhere. One or two of the very best are in existence in 1868, but they are mostly, paying little interest on their capital. All the rest have perished, and untold sums of money have been buried in the soil—sacrificed to the bubble Tea. These failures are especially painful to contemplate. Usually in a great commercial crisis, when some very favourite speculation has proved unsound, and a general smash has involved in ruin all who were unwary enough to trust the bubble, the disaster has chiefly been confined to the commercial world, where, though it would be unjust to say men are used to such things, yet, compared to bodies of men like the officers of the civil and military services, the ruin is less complete, and the losses are more easily recovered. But the speculators in tea were principally officers in the service, or retired officers who invested the savings, perhaps, of a lifetime, upon which they depended for the means of educating their children or starting them in the world, or providing for their old age, in some company or private partnership. The ruin that overtook them was complete. There was no recovery. There was no going through the insolvent court and starting again in another line of business. Their savings were gone, and except for their bare pay and pensions they were penniless. It is lamentable to think how many lacs of rupees, representing the hope of comfort in old age, of a provision in retirement, of a liberal education for children, have been squandered in India within the last five or six years in tea.

The question naturally occurs to the reader, Why this failure? The causes are several; and may be briefly stated as follows. It must be premised that, as a rule, small gardens of from fifty to a hundred or two hundred acres, managed by the owners themselves, have succeeded so far as to afford a very fair profit on the outlay, and the labour expended on them. A planter—a retired officer, for instance—purchases a small estate, say a couple of hundred acres in extent. He plants out fifty acres of tea the first year, tends it himself with the assistance of a few gardeners at eight shillings a month. Next year he plants out fifty acres more, and in the fourth year the first fifty acres will begin to be fit for plucking, and in full bearing in the fifth year. He constructs a rude factory, sets up his furnace, which costs him next to nothing, and manufactures his tea, for which, being a small quantity, he finds a ready sale in the neighbouring settlement. The story of his success gets abroad. People hear that Captain Smith, with a very small outlay, is realizing such and such a profit from so many acres of tea. If it pays him twenty-five per cent. on an outlay of a thousand rupees, they multiply it by tens, and think they can realize twenty-five per cent. on ten thousand rupees, forgetting altogether that it is to Captain Smith's own supervision that the success is attributable; and that, moreover, Captain Smith, on his own account, has not reckoned anything for his own services during the five years he was waiting for the plants to mature. As Captain Smith could not possibly have existed on less than two thousand rupees a year during those five years, to make the calculation correct, ten thousand rupees ought to be added to the capital invested, and then the profits dwindle down from twenty-five per cent. to about two per cent.

But there is another thing not taken into consideration. Captain Smith's five or six hundred pounds of tea found a ready sale in the neighbouring settlement, at perhaps five shillings a pound, but the supply was just equal to the demand; and had that five hundred pounds been five thou-

sand pounds, there would have been no call for it, but it would have had to be packed up in boxes, and sent all the way to Calcutta, where brokerage, agency commission, freight, loss by the way, and half a dozen etceteras would have very speedily reduced the two per cent. to a deficit.

The main cause of failure, then, may be said to be the erroneous conclusion that success in a concern conducted on a large scale would be proportionate to that which attended efforts on a small scale. Another cause of failure was the ignorance of managers of plantations. In the small gardens the owners looked after the cultivation and manufacture themselves; they had to teach themselves by experience, when all was new, but by care and attention and diligent acquisition of information from every available quarter they picked up knowledge enough to guide them clear of any very great error. But tea-planting is by no means an instinct or a science which is born with us. During the time that the tea mania prevailed there seemed to be a notion abroad that any man in the world could plant and manufacture tea. A sailor by profession who had been all his life at sea; a soldier who for years had pursued the unvarying round of regimental duty; clerks who had never left their desks for two days together; younger brothers of directors who had never had any opportunity of acquiring the requisite knowledge; members of every class, of every profession, with all kinds of antecedents, and one common feature, viz. utter ignorance of tea culture and manufacture, were entrusted with the management of estates, generally the property of joint-stock companies, on salaries of five or six hundred a year. Some of them never learnt at all; others did, but the experience was dearly paid for by the shareholders.

Another fruitful source of disaster was—in Assam, the want of labour; and in Upper India, the drought. It is doubtful if these difficulties can ever be entirely got over. Assam seems a country singularly situated, having no indigenous population. Coolies, of course, can be im-

ported, but the expense of importing them is so heavy, and they die off so rapidly, that it is extremely doubtful if the produce of the estates will ever pay for the labour. In Upper India small gardens may be watered artificially, almost by the hand, and in seasons of drought extra efforts may save the crops, but large plantations require an extensive system of irrigation.

The seasons are very variable, at least they have been so lately, though they were not so formerly; but, judging by the experience of the last few years, the drought is so great that the spring crops will generally be very poor. In Upper India the first flush is in the spring. Plucking commences about April, and is supposed to go on till June; but in point of fact the great dryness of the spring weather prevents the young leaf from sprouting, and in that case little or no tea is made till the autumn. When the periodical rains fail, as they do occasionally, the planter's prospects are poor indeed. Tea-planting in Upper India will become a certain success when a good system of artificial irrigation has made the planter independent of the seasons, and when the principle is recognised there as fully as it is elsewhere, that special training or skill, acquired either by study or experience, is necessary in every pursuit in life. In Assam and Lower Bengal, where the air is much less dry, and there is always more rain, the spring crop may always be relied upon. There is no doubt, too, that the indigenous Assam plant yields much more leaf than the China plant, which is not indigenous; although the flavour of the tea grown in Upper India is very far superior to that produced in Assam, which is chiefly valued in the market for its colour. In fact, the higher the elevation at which tea is grown the finer will be its flavour; and this is the reason why the Russian China tea is so much finer in its flavour than that imported into England. It is often supposed that the difference is to be accounted for by the fact that the inferior qualities only are shipped to England,

or that the tea deteriorates from contact with the sea air. Neither of these explanations is correct; the latter, indeed, is so absurd that it is extraordinary it could ever have been entertained. The tea imported into Russia, overland, is grown upon the high lands of China, and has the same rich aromatic flavour as the tea grown in Kangra and Kumaon and other hill districts in India.

It would be an error to suppose that the losses by tea failures were all confined to the services. A very large number of firms in Calcutta suffered materially. Estates which had been bought for large sums of money—generally speaking, having fetched far more than their value owing to the excitement that prevailed—were thrown into the market by decrees of court, the foreclosure of mortgages, or a general inability to meet engagements. Plantations on which lacs of rupees had been expended were sold for ten or twenty thousand, in some cases abandoned to weeds and wild beasts; and one estate, which was valued at upwards of a lac, and on which the whole resources of the proprietor had been expended, was sold for seven rupees, or fourteen shillings.

The tea fever may be said to have reached its height in 1863. In the autumn of that year the *Friend of India* wrote: "A glance at the *Calcutta Gazette* will show the enormous extent of tea-land advertised as applied for by capitalists in Assam. Our share-list, which does not represent private owners, almost every week contains the name of a new tea company. There are several young plantations which annually double their produce." The same authority, quoting Dr. Jamieson's official report, gives the following figures, showing the extent to which tea cultivation had then spread. In Assam, in May 1863, there were 246 tea estates, of which seventy-six belonged to companies, the rest to private owners. The area of the whole was 122,770 acres, of which 20,144 were under cultivation. These acres yielded 2,150,068 lbs., valued at the rate of one and ninepence per lb. at 190,000*l*. In

Cachar, in the six years since 1856, no less than 177 grants of land, covering 558,078 acres, had been applied for. The tea manufactured, with seed sold, was estimated at 47,614*l.*; and in the current year the value, it was expected, would be doubled. In six years planters in this territory, a tract previously uninhabited, drew from the treasury a sum no less than 173,058*l.* Where there was hardly a human being before there were in 1863 150 English planters, employing 15,317 coolies, and the number was increasing every month. At Darjeeling there were, in 1862, 12,366 acres cleared, of which 9,102 were cultivated by 7,447 coolies.

In the North-West and Punjab tea districts, covering 35,000 square miles, Dr. Jamieson estimated the produce, when in full bearing, at the rate of 100 lbs. an acre—by no means a high estimate—at ninety-three millions of pounds, equal to the whole quantity exported by China. In Kumaon there were eleven plantations, two of which belonged to Government. In the North-West Provinces there were 38,556 acres of tea grants, of which 4,596 only were under cultivation, producing 33,960 lbs. in 1862. In the Punjab there were 9,518 acres planted out, employing about thirty-seven planters and 4,000 coolies.

Such was the smiling aspect of affairs in 1863. Alas that such pleasing anticipations were destined never to be realized! There is still, however, vitality in the Indian tea cultivation; and wherever the planter is so situated that the seasons can be depended upon, or is rendered by artificial irrigation independent of them, and can procure as much labour as he requires, there is no doubt of success. But in India these are very onerous conditions, and it is to the fact of their being overlooked, amid the sanguine expectations at first entertained, that we must attribute much of the failure and ruin that have overtaken so many speculators.

The year 1862 was not marked by any military event of importance. There was a rising among the tribes in the

Jyntea hills in Assam, who were driven into rebellion by misgovernment and the oppression of petty officials in levying a house-tax. This occasioned a little trouble, on account of the inaccessibility of the place. Brigadier-General Showers, commanding the Presidency division, took the field against the rebels, and Mr. Beadon, who had succeeded Sir P. Grant as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, also visited the disturbed district. The malcontents were, as it was supposed, pacified, and the General and the Lieutenant-Governor returned to their respective charges, but the rebellion broke out again, and was not quelled at the close of the year.

An important treaty was procured this year, after a vast deal of coaxing and trouble, from the King of Burmah. This potentate, when deprived of a large part of his dominions in the last Burmese war by Lord Dalhousie, declined, with an excess of caution which we should have expected to find exercised by an attorney rather than a semi-barbarian chief, to sign a treaty, lest he should be held to have acquiesced in the annexation of his territory to British India. What difference the king supposed it would make, whether he was held to have acquiesced in it or not, it is difficult to see. But he refused to execute a treaty till the close of the present year, when Colonel Phayre (who had succeeded Colonel Yule as Chief Commissioner of the new province of British Burmah, which was in this year formed by the amalgamation of Arracan, Pegu, and the Tenasserim provinces into one charge) proceeded to Mandalay, the capital, and persuaded the king to grant one. By its terms Englishmen are allowed to trade in the dominions of the king, and to pass through them unmolested; and a British consular agent is to reside at the capital. He refused to surrender his custom duties, but an impost of one per cent. only was levied on goods conveyed by the Irawaddy from China to the Bay of Bengal.

Several changes of officials in high positions occurred during this year. On March 12 Lord Canning made over to

Lord Elgin his responsible post, which he had held during a period more thickly beset with political difficulties than any which it had ever fallen to the lot of a Governor-General to encounter. The historians who attempt to describe Lord Canning's career in India, will be struck with the remarkable difference in his public character and policy, before and subsequent to the suppression of the rebellion. To the probable causes of that difference I have already alluded. And the period that elapsed before the change took place does not come under review in these pages. In the later years of his administration, Lord Canning earned a title to be ranked among the greatest statesmen who have ever held the office of Governor-General. Whether a more vigorous policy at the outset of the disturbance might not have trampled down the spirit of disaffection, it is fruitless now to inquire. Eminently unfortunate in his advisers, he had no sooner shaken himself free from their influence and turned the full force of his own judgment and discretion upon the management of affairs, than he found himself beginning to rise in the estimation of all independent thinkers, supported by public sympathy, and hailed as the pioneer of a more liberal and enlightened policy than India had up to that time ever seen. The wounds, however, that society in India had suffered during the mutiny were too fresh to allow men to form a calm or unprejudiced judgment. The shortcomings of the first part of his administration were still attributed to him rather than to the ill advice of the counsellors by whom he was surrounded, and it was not till time had been allowed for the passions which a period of unprecedented excitement had aroused, to cool down, that men could bring themselves to regard Lord Canning's character in a true light.

With his great experience of India, and the liberal views he adopted in the later part of his career, it was fondly hoped that on his return to England he would continue to watch over the destinies of his recent charge in the capacity of Secretary of State, if indeed his services could have been

spared for the office. He died at the zenith of his fame, having been preceded but a few months by his wife, the Countess Canning, by whom he left no child to perpetuate his line and title. His death has been popularly ascribed to the effects of the Indian climate and to over-work. The Indian climate, however, though it had robbed us about that time of many great men, was not the cause of Lord Canning's death. He landed at Marseilles in good health, and must have caught cold on his journey across France. Not long permitted to enjoy the first instalment of rewards conferred on him for his services, the rangiership of Greenwich Park and an official residence at Blackheath, he was, on the 21st June, 1862, followed to his last resting-place in Westminster Abbey by a train of distinguished mourners, among whom were Lord Palmerston and Lord Clyde, and Sir James Outram.

It has been remarked of Lord Canning that one indication of greatness was wanting in his career. Really great men are always served by great men; but of all Lord Canning's subordinates who owed their elevation to him, few exhibited any peculiar capacity or genius with the exception of Sir R. Temple, under whose vigorous administration the Central Provinces took a sudden leap towards civilization, the more striking from the contrast with the state of stagnation in which that territory had lain so long.

The great fault in Lord Canning's character—the key to all his failures and unpopularity—was the utter absence of all enthusiasm. Cold, phlegmatic, and reserved, his icy nature seemed incapable of being warmed into life, either by zeal for public service or private friendship. There is no real greatness without enthusiasm; for he who is without it cannot influence his fellow-men, and the man who has not a spark of it in his nature will neither kindle it himself in others, nor sympathise with it when it has been kindled. There are some who confound enthusiasm with impulse; and in the estimation of such men, the calmness of judgment and careful thought necessary for a ruler are wanting

in an enthusiastic nature. But this is a mistake. Calm, impartial, just, Lord Canning allowed important questions to remain undecided day after day, week after week, till the public grew weary and impatient, and called that indolence which was in reality over-caution. An impulsive man is ever incautious; and impulsiveness is incompatible with justice and impartiality. But enthusiasm is a higher order of emotion altogether—it is the sympathetic chord that links great minds together: in this attribute Lord Canning's character was totally wanting, and this is why he made choice of few but men of mediocrity to serve him.

True justice can only be done to his memory by a publication of his papers, and these may throw much light upon the career of a statesman who served his country in a most eventful period, and upon a character that is after all an enigma.

In Bengal, Sir John Peter Grant was succeeded in the Lieutenant-Governorship by Sir Cecil (then Mr.) Beadon, on the 25th April, and early in the same month Sir Bartle Frere succeeded Sir George Clerk in the Governorship of Bombay.

Sir John Peter Grant, one of the ablest of the Bengal civilians of the old school, was called to the helm at a critical time. His position, to compare the small with the greater, was very like that of Lord Canning. His whole official career having been spent in running the ball backwards and forwards in the same groove, he was well adapted to continue the process with the additional impetus communicated by the authority of his new position. No sooner had he taken charge than the ball glided out of its groove, ran off the board, and began to describe unwonted circles and gyrations on the floor. But that Sir John Peter Grant should have been unpopular among the planters and the non-official community is hardly to be wondered at. The part he was forced to take set them necessarily against him. How serious was the crisis in 1860 may be judged by Lord Canning's remark, who declared that it caused him more

anxiety than he had felt since the fall of Delhi. Sir John Grant had been to Dacca to inspect some railway works in progress there. On his way back, his course lay up the river Jamoonah, and crowds of ryots thronged the banks, praying and beseeching him to deliver them from the indigo planters. For days afterwards, in the same journey, both banks of the river, for a distance of seventy or eighty miles, were lined by thousands of people who were running along to keep up with the steamer, the women sitting by the water's edge, the inhabitants of the different villages pouring out and taking up the race from village to village, all the time vociferously beseeching him to grant them justice. The Lieutenant-Governor's remark upon the subject does not certainly indicate any great depth of feeling: "The organization and capacity for continued and simultaneous action in the cause, which this remarkable demonstration over so large an extent of country proved, are subjects worthy of much consideration." Lord Canning looked at the matter in a much more serious light, but Sir John Grant probably knew the Bengalee character too well to feel alarmed. "From that day," said the Viceroy, "I felt that a shot fired in anger or fear by one foolish planter might put every factory in Lower Bengal in flames."

It might have occurred possibly to Sir John Grant that the demonstration which he thought "worthy of serious consideration," and which so much alarmed Lord Canning, may have been very easily got up by working some of those secret springs that are never wanting in the politics of Bengal when a little intrigue may serve the purpose of a party.

That the high opinion which Sir John Peter Grant's fellow-civilians had formed of his abilities was shared by the Government at home, is evidenced by his selection to succeed the late Governor of Jamaica, a dependency where reform in the administration seems to be more loudly called for than it was in Bengal in 1860. Nothing, of course, can justify the outrages committed by the natives

in Jamaica during the recent outbreak ; but if the accounts which have been published of the wrongs and grievances of the black population are true, Sir John Peter Grant, as the friend of an oppressed race, will find no unfavourable field for the exercise of that benevolence and large-hearted sympathy which caused him to be regarded in Bengal as the friend of the native, and the enemy of European progress.

Sir George Clerk commenced his Indian career in 1816, and for his eminent services, principally in diplomacy, was in 1848 created a K.C.B. After this he was called to serve his country in another field altogether—a rare distinction for an Indian officer—having been appointed to assist in adjusting the affairs of South Africa, and in a special commission to the Orange River Settlement. Upon his retirement from Bombay the Secretary of State availed himself of his great Indian experience by appointing him a member of Council. One claim he undeniably has on the gratitude of posterity, in the fact that it was he who first brought the Lawrences into notice. When political agent in the Punjab, in the days of Runjeet Singh, he first took Sir Henry Lawrence by the hand, and set him on the lowest step of the ladder on which he soon rose to eminence. He did not accomplish much in Bombay, but quarrelled with Sir Charles Wood for what the one called interference, and the other a due exercise of authority, and tendered his resignation. Through the mediation of Lord Stanley the resignation was withdrawn. This was at the close of 1861, but in April 1862 he laid down the cares of office, and closed a long and honourable Indian career. The Home Government recognised his services by the unusual grant of a pension of 1,000*l.* a year, and by a seat at the Board of the Council of India.

The services rendered to the State by the Military Finance Commission have been alluded to elsewhere. It was convened first in 1859, under the presidentship of Col. Balfour, of the Madras Army, a son-in-law of the famous

economist Joseph Hume. Colonel Balfour was succeeded in 1862 by Colonel Browne, the author of the unfinished but valued work on the "History of the Bengal Army."

The Police Commission closed its proceedings, and sent in its report in this year, for which they received the thanks of Government. When their labours commenced, they found the local government was spending no less than three millions sterling upon their police. At the committee's recommendation this was reduced to two millions. Assuming the population of British India to be 132,750,168, spread over an area of 835,837 square miles, they allotted one constable, costing 130 rupees a year, to every square mile, or every thousand inhabitants. This would give 150,000 policemen for all India, at a cost of 1,949,532*l*. The new system was first carried out in the Madras Presidency, with every indication of success, but the committee had a stout battle to fight in Bengal and the North-West Provinces before they obtained a recognition of the principle that the magistrate who tries the criminal shall not be the detective to catch him; and that while the police are trained to act together in an *émeute*, they may not render themselves dangerous by combination. These were the principles upon which Sir Charles Napier formed his police in Sind in 1843, and which were subsequently introduced into Bombay, Burmah, Oude, the Punjab, and the North-West Provinces.¹ The system, however, has since been much modified, and in fact, as far as power of combination goes, and influence in the country, and the capacity for mischief, should they be disposed to act mischievously and follow the example of the old Bengal Army, the present police force possesses nearly all the faults, with none of the few good points, which distinguished the native army. The moral effect of the present system upon the country at large has been further considered in the chapter on Legislation.

¹ *Friend of India*.

CHAPTER VII.

1863.

Sir Charles Trevelyan—Lord Elgin—The Honourable G. Edmondstone—Official life in India as compared with England—Secret disaffection—Wahabeeism—Mr. William Tayler—The Patna plot—Lord Elgin's last journey—His death—Sir John Lawrence appointed Viceroy—Sir William Denison acts as Viceroy—Agricultural improvements—The commercial crisis—Absorption of silver.

EARLY in this year Sir Charles Trevelyan returned to India in the capacity of Finance Minister. After his recall from the Governorship of Madras—a measure necessary for the maintenance of the prestige and authority of the Viceroy—his appointment to India was the best testimony that could possibly be given to the estimation in which he was held by Sir Charles Wood and the other members of her Majesty's Government. It can readily be believed that the duty of recalling the insubordinate Governor of Madras was a painful one to the Secretary of State, for he was well known to be a personal friend of Sir Charles Trevelyan, with whom he had been associated many years in the Treasury. That the mode in which he had carried out his duties as Governor had met with the fullest approbation of his superior is clear from the eulogistic terms in which Sir C. Wood alludes to them. He said that "no servant of the Crown had more earnestly endeavoured to carry out the great principles of government which were promulgated to the provinces and people of India in Her Majesty's proclamation."

On the other hand, Sir Charles Trevelyan's acceptance of an appointment so much less valuable in point of position

and emolument than that of which he had been deprived, shows that he was too high-minded to allow a recollection of what he must have regarded in the light of an injury, to rankle in his breast. And no one can read his able and masterly exposition of the financial condition of the country, in his budget statements from 1863 to 1866, without the conviction that had the Home Government lost the benefit of his ability and experience, owing to the unhappy publication of the minute on the income-tax of 1860-1, it would have paid dearly for the satisfaction or the duty of punishing an insubordinate official.

To the public in India, especially in the Madras Presidency, and that large portion of the official community which ever regarded the income-tax with disfavour, Sir Charles Trevelyan's return as Finance Member of Council was looked on as a triumph. It was indeed a tacit though very unmistakeable acknowledgment, that however much the course he took in condemnation of Mr. Wilson's policy was open to censure, the opinions he then held were recognised as sound. Viewing as a whole the financial measures adopted from 1859 to 1863, it is clear that the equilibrium between revenue and expenditure which Mr. Wilson and Mr. Laing laboured so hard to attain was mainly due to reductions in public establishments; and it was to this, rather than to the imposition of new taxes, or the increase of former duties, the finance minister should have looked. The mischievous results, however, that were anticipated from the income-tax never occurred. It was highly unpopular, and unfair in its operation, as it fell much more heavily, in proportion to their numbers and their incomes, on the European than on the native community. The proceeds realized were much below the estimates, and the best authorities concur in regarding it as an impost to which in India nothing but extreme necessity could justify resort.¹

¹ Since the above was written, Sir R. Temple has introduced his budget, and procured the re-imposition of the income-tax to the extent

Sir Charles Trevelyan landed at Madras on his way up the Bay of Bengal, to receive the congratulations of his friends.

The calm and somewhat torpid existence of Madras society was stirred into unwonted activity by the appearance of an official who seemed really popular; addresses were delivered and speeches made, and after a vast quantity of powder had been expended in fireworks, the ex-Governor re-embarked on board the steamer that was to convey him to the new field of his exertions.

Sir Charles Trevelyan landed on the 13th January. On the 5th February, Lord Elgin left Calcutta for a tour in the Upper Provinces, little dreaming that he was destined never again to visit the seat of government. He held durbars at Patna—at that very time, though it was not discovered till afterwards, the seat of a dangerous conspiracy—at Agra, and other places. At the latter city he met the principal chiefs and independent rulers of the different states in Rajpootana and Central India, on the same site which had witnessed the interview between Lord Canning and the native potentates. The grandeur and magnificence of the

of one per cent. But the soundness of the views expressed in the text will, I think, be shown by the statement of Sir R. Temple in proposing his Bill, to the effect that out of the whole population of India the number of persons who would pay the tax upon an income over 50*l.* a year was only 150,000. These figures speak for themselves. The inference to be drawn from this is rendered still more clear by a table published by the *Friend of India*, March 16, 1869, showing the number of persons who paid the income-tax of 1861-2 on incomes above 50*l.* per annum. In the cities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras respectively, there were for incomes between 50*l.* and 100*l.* a year, 10,000, 5,000, and 1,500; for incomes above 100*l.*, 7,000, 5,000, 1,000. That it should be represented that in Bombay there were not more than 5,000 persons drawing an income of above 100*l.* a year is in itself a *reductio ad absurdum* which needs no further comment. The result of the returns from the Presidencies, apart from the Presidency towns, is even more striking. In Bengal, Bombay, the North-West Provinces, and Madras, the returns show 50,000, 30,000, 30,000, and 15,000 persons respectively in the receipt of incomes between 50*l.* and 100*l.* a year; above 100*l.* a year, they are 14,000, 10,000, 11,000, and 5,000.

viceregal durbar of 1859 was here repeated, if possible on a larger scale, and with a greater display of barbaric wealth and pomp. From Agra the Viceroy passed on by easy stages to Simla, repeating the somewhat monotonous ceremonial of the durbar in one or two other places. At Simla he remained till the autumn, when he set out on the fatal tour that ended in a grave on the lonely summit of the Himalayas.

Early in the year, the Hon. Mr. Edmondstone's term as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces came to a close. He had succeeded to the post after the interregnum which ensued subsequent to the death of Mr. Colvin, who succumbed to care and over-work in the early period of the rebellion. He died soon after his return to England, having survived but a short period to enjoy the honour of a family baronetcy that descended to him almost immediately after his retirement. It must have been constantly remarked by those who have friends in India, how frequently death cuts off the retired official or man of business a short time after his return to his native land. The usual platitudes are uttered on the occasion, and each hale, robust old man, as he sinks into the grave, prematurely, even at the age he has reached, is looked upon as another instance of the ravages of an Oriental climate. The truth is, that in many cases men who leave India at the usual age for retiring on a pension or from business, are in just as good health as their compeers who have been struggling on in some profession or career at home all the time, and mean to struggle on and to be busy, thriving, rising men for many years yet; while the Anglo-Indian, with his pension and his Five per Cents., need not trouble himself to keep in harness any longer. Men in official or business life in India work, as a rule, much harder and more continuously than their compeers in England. There are several inducements to this: one is the hope of a more speedy return, and another is the absence of any temptation to idleness. Work is often the only refuge from the

inconveniences of a residence in a tropical climate, or the depression which a life often of lonely exile and separation from family intercourse is calculated to produce. And so the Anglo-Indian toils on for the best part of his life, buoyed with the hope of retirement, with his nervous system often strung up to the highest pitch, his physical and mental powers strained to the point—sometimes beyond the point—where the intellectual faculties can be maintained in the most efficient working order, till the moment of retirement, when all work suddenly ceases. Occasionally, of course, men do overstrain themselves, but as a rule it is not the overstraining, but the abrupt relaxation of the mind and the sudden unstringing of the nervous system consequent on the change from hard work to complete idleness, that lands the majority of retired Indians in the grave shortly after their return to England.

Mr. Edmondstone was probably the best selection Lord Canning could have made for the post of Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. It was no easy post, for these provinces had been the principal seat of the rebellion. It was here the storm had raged with its greatest fury, and the shattered fragments of wrecked institutions were strewn far and wide. In no part of India—except, of course, Oude—had the ruin and devastation been anything like so severe as in the North-West. When Lord Canning made over his charge to Mr. Edmondstone in 1858, it was as if he had put him in command of a wrecked ship, with fragments of broken spars and tangled rigging strewn over the deck, while the vessel was moving slowly under patchwork sails and jury-masts. It required a firm hand to take the helm under such circumstances. Mr. Edmondstone had served during the latter part of his career in the Punjab, and he brought to the duties of his new charge more liberal views and independence of mind than would have been found in a civilian like Sir John Peter Grant, for instance, or Mr. Beadon. At the same time, Mr. Edmondstone as Lieutenant-Governor displayed none of the peculiar charac-

teristics of the Punjab school. He became merged in the regulations, and worked as a wheel—a very efficient wheel, no doubt—in the machinery by which the executive government went on. Had a Lawrence or a Montgomery been in his place, he would have put himself at the head of every movement instead of being carried along with it ; he would have directed and controlled, superintended and stimulated the work of resuscitation and renewal, instead of remaining content with being himself one of the parts of the machine that effected those results. Mr. Edmondstone's career was marked by no failures, nor was it characterised by any successes. The fragments of the wrecked institutions were picked up and put together, and made as efficient as possible under the circumstances. He went steadily to Nynce Tal every summer ; and though you heard of the government of the North-West Provinces, you seldom heard of Mr. Edmondstone's government.

He was succeeded by the Hon. E. Drummond, a Bengal civilian taken from the Financial Department to fill the post of pro-consul over a province he had up to that time never even seen. The history of his five years' tenure of office, which expired in 1868, may be briefly dismissed with the remark that, while carefully watching over the interests of his own service, he originated little or nothing for the benefit of the thirty millions of population committed to his care. Strongly imbued with all the traditional prejudices of the old Bengal school, he showed himself the determined enemy of European progress in the country ; and beyond one or two feeble efforts to follow the example of the Punjab in the matter of public exhibitions, his career was marked by no features of general interest.

While to all external appearances the political condition of India was at this time one of profound repose, there were symptoms, which were observed only by those who had the means of getting a glimpse occasionally below the surface of native society, indicating that the restless spirit of Asiatic intrigue was still actively at work.

It was not till long afterwards that a full revelation was made of a conspiracy, whose most remarkable characteristic, perhaps, was the extent to which its ramifications had spread without attracting notice, rather than the capacity of the conspirators for carrying out their designs. Vague rumours had been flying about the country for some time previously, of an agitation among the Mahommedans, consequent on the approach of a period foretold by sundry prophecies, when a prince and a deliverer, the Imam Mehndi, was to appear, whose advent should herald a tremendous conflict between Mahommedanism and Christianity, great political revolutions, and a series of events terminating with the destruction of the world. Why this new prophet, or reviver of Islam, was to appear from the North-West, is not so easy to determine. But, with the exception of the British conquest, all the great revolutions and political movements that have affected India have invariably come from the North-West. To the modern Indian, among all the uneducated and even with some of the better-educated classes, the regions of Central Asia are a *terra incognita*, surrounded with a cloud of awe and mystery, with which the imagination of a superstitious people is always too prone to invest a neighbouring country that is shut in by ranges of lofty mountains, inhabited by strange races, and which has been in past times the cradle of heroes and warriors. Vague reminiscences and traditions, the fragments of an imperfect history, keep alive the memory of Timour, Mahmoud, and Nadir Shah, and the other conquerors who, issuing from the North, poured their hordes like a devastating flood upon the defenceless plains of Hindostan; while in more modern times, and within the recollection of the present generation, the tragic story of the Affghan war has added an element of reality to the cloud of myth and romance that hangs over the regions where the half-dreaded, half-expected, but all uncertain power of the Roos¹ is supposed in every bazar and

¹ Russia is so called in the East.

every homestead in India to be making its way slowly but surely to the frontier. Whatever may be the reason, there is no doubt of the fact that, among Mahommedans generally, there is a belief and expectation that the hand yet destined to revolutionize India is to come from beyond the Indus.

Wahabeeism, which may be described generally as a revival of pure Mahommedanism, has been preached with great activity in many parts of India for many years, especially during 1862 and 1863. Wahabeeism, in itself, has no direct bearing against the British power. It is a religious rather than a political movement. But, inasmuch as its object is to restore the pure worship of Islam throughout India, the destruction of all opposing principles and systems is a necessary means to the end. Religious enthusiasm is always formidable; and the principles of the Wahabee preacher are those which, while they allow no quarter to an enemy, promise Paradise to the true believer who falls sword in hand fighting for the faith. For years Patna has been known to be the head-quarters of Wahabeeism in India; and it was Mr. William Tayler's great foresight in seizing the heads of the movement in 1857 that saved Behar, and probably Bengal, from the horrors of the rebellion. Mr. William Tayler was then Commissioner of Patna. But the men he seized were powerful and wealthy; their friends had the ear of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It was at the time of Lord Canning's thralldom to the clique of narrow-minded councillors, to whom India owes so many of the disasters of 1857; and Mr. W. Tayler was disgraced and driven from the service, and for a time professionally ruined. But the crisis was past; the blow had intimidated the conspirators, and Behar and Bengal were saved. Time has shown the wisdom of his policy; one by one the malefactors he seized have been marked down by the slower operation of the ordinary laws; and the last remnant—the last that has as yet come to light—of the conspiracy was broken up in 1863 and 1864.

The story is worth the study of Indian politicians, for it shows even more forcibly than does the history of 1857, how our dominion in India is ever liable to be threatened by the operations of secret organization. So totally separated are the English community from the native, so slender and superficial are the links that connect the two, and so little is the sympathy between them, that the English official world is absolutely in the dark as to everything that goes on beneath the surface of native society. It is as in the physical world, where the inhabitants of cities, situated in a volcanic country, are ever liable to be overwhelmed by the sudden outbreak of forces that are at work unseen beneath the soil.

The note of warning was first given by the press, the editor of one of the journals of Upper India having, through a native correspondent, obtained one of the inflammatory Wahabee pamphlets then in circulation. Valuable information was also afforded by an old Sikh priest, who had behaved with remarkable fidelity to the British Government during the rebellion.¹

¹ This man's history illustrates the fate of too many of those who were loyal to us in 1857, to be passed over. He was the owner of considerable property, the head Gooroo, or Sikh priest, of the city of Agra. His conduct in 1857 had made him a marked man, and after order had been restored a criminal charge was brought against him, as was the case with so many of those who aroused the enmity of their fellow-countrymen by taking part with the British Government. If investigation could be made, it would be found that an astonishing number of those who were loyal have since either been reduced to beggary by legal processes, or have died in jail under some criminal charge, which is very easily got up in India. The Sikh Gooroo was tried by the judge, assisted by assessors who were Europeans. These assessors have not the power and functions of a jury, for their award may be set aside. The assessors in this case found the man not guilty, the evidence being clearly fabricated, but the judge overruled them, and the Gooroo was sent to jail in irons. The case was referred to the Lieutenant-Governor, and eventually the Sudder Court directed the man's release. Yet the order for his release was out a fortnight before the victim could be got out of jail. On one pretext or another the officials about the judge's court and the jail contrived to get his liberation postponed.

The information thus acquired was privately communicated to Government, as well as the names of several of the most active Wahabee preachers in the Punjab, some of whom were themselves Government *employés*. The next link connecting the conspiracy with Patna was discovered in a curious manner by Captain Parsons.

The story of the plot is closely interwoven with that of the Umbeyla campaign, which originated in military operations directed against a colony of Hindostanee fanatics, at a place called Sittana, on the right bank of the Indus. The campaign occupied all the latter part of 1863 and the beginning of 1864, and is of sufficient importance to claim a chapter to itself. Accordingly, it has been related somewhat with more detail than would be practicable here, in a future portion of the work.

There was a sergeant of mounted police, under Captain Parsons' command, who was a native of Eusofzye, a tract in the Peshawur valley, and who had been at Sittana. One day in May 1863, when at Kurnaul near Delhi, he saw four travellers, whom he recognised as Sittana men. He entered into conversation with them, and soon managed to worm out their secret. They were emissaries from the Sittana people, bound for Bengal, to collect men and money for the war which they were then preparing to wage against the British power. The men were arrested and taken before the magistrate, who treated the story as mythical, and released the travellers. Nothing daunted at the rebuff, the sergeant sent his son all the way to Mulka, one of the principal head-quarters of the fanatics near Sittana, to find out the parties with whom these four emissaries had put up on their way through Thanesur,

When he did get out, his property had been most of it plundered, none of his relatives having sufficient power to protect it. Had it not been for the accidental circumstance of this man's having some friends among the non-official European community on the spot, he must have died in jail. The few natives who stood by us in 1857 did so at a greater sacrifice than most Englishmen are aware of.

a large city near Umballa. By this means the discovery was made that one named Jaffir Ally, at Thanesur, was the medium through which the conspirators were assisted with men and money. The clue thus found was put into the hands of Captain Parsons, who was told to follow it up.

Captain Parsons at once searched the house of Jaffir Ally, who was a petty civil officer and a licensed vendor of stamps, and among other letters found one addressed to one Mahomed Shuffee, a rich man, who held a large contract under the Commissariat for the supply of butcher's meat to the European troops. Subsequent information was received which induced the authorities to arrest Jaffir Ally, and Captain Parsons was sent to seize him, but he had fled; after a pursuit, however, of about two hundred miles, the energetic officer overtook and captured him at Allyghur.

As the evidence which had been collected clearly pointed to Patna as the head-quarters of the conspiracy, Captain Parsons was deputed to that place to conduct the investigation, and various arrests were made. Indeed, this nest of Wahabeeism was for a time pretty well broken up. The conspirators were all tried at Umballa, and some very curious and significant revelations came out during the inquiry. This Mahomed Shuffee, or Shaffayut Ally, had a contract to supply the troops with meat in every garrison and camp from Delhi to beyond the Indus. It may therefore be easily conceived what a valuable ally he was. A man of great wealth, and consequently of some importance, he could obtain access to any European officer of any rank. His agents, servants, *employés*, swarmed at every station where there was a European regiment. Recruits for the enemy at Sittana actually marched up with the very detachments, regiments, and brigades that were on their way to operate against them, in disguise as Mahomed Shuffee's servants or Commissariat subordinates: while, by means of his agencies at all the different stations, he

transmitted money collected for the cause by emissaries who went about preaching in all the large cities, even down as far as Dacca : while recruits were sent up from places equally distant, all through the heart of India, travelling along the Grand Trunk road, putting up at serais, confronted every day, and many times in the day, by our police. The usual Oriental system of metaphor was adopted in all the correspondence between the agents and the leaders of the movement. In their phraseology Patna was called the "bara godown," or the great warehouse ; and Sittana the "little warehouse," or the wholesale and retail store. How long this had been going on was uncertain. The evidence adduced went to show it had been in progress for at least two years. Some of the witnesses describe, in the most *naïve* manner, their disappointment on arriving at Sittana, after a long journey from some place in Bengal, perhaps a distance of two thousand miles, at not finding the Prophet, who, to do them justice, appears to have been the first person they asked for. They were ordered to drill instead of to prayer ; and, sorely against their will, sent to fight, which some of them refusing, they were at once put in confinement.

The story shows how slow our Government are to take warning even after the lesson of 1857, and how easily a plot of this kind can be carried on, these operations having proceeded uninterruptedly and unsuspected for at least two years, the head centre of the movement being the army meat contractor.

The most extraordinary feature of the case is the disproportionate result produced by all this secret preaching and canvassing, plotting and contriving. The Sittana fanatics certainly gave our troops some trouble, and fought with desperate energy. Unable to realize the importance of the movement, Lord Elgin, like Lord Canning before him at the beginning of 1857, took wholly inefficient measures to meet the emergency. Before leaving Simla on his tour through the mountains to Lahore, he had

directed a brigade to be sent against Sittana, under the command of Sir Neville Chamberlain. It is only necessary to remark here that the mistake of underrating the enemy was found out too late—too late, at least, to ward off very unhappy consequences.

Mahomed Shuffee, and the other conspirators, were mostly found guilty of treason; the leading men were condemned to death, but the sentence was remitted by the court of appeal, and eventually none of them suffered capitally.

Lord Elgin's route led him through the Kangra hills, whence he was to descend to the plains, and join his camp, which was pitched at a place called Pathankote, at the foot of the mountains. The valley of the Kangra district is considered by some to be the most beautiful in all India excepting Cashmere, which has never been deprived of the crown given her by the pen and poetry of Moore. How much of the position which Cashmere holds is owing to the fancy of the popular poet, they can judge who have had the opportunity of seeing the valley and comparing it with the grand panoramas of majestic beauty in which the Himalaya mountains are so rich. Lord Canning especially admired the scenery of Kangra, a lovely valley surrounded by lofty mountains lying between two rivers—the Ravee and Sutlege—and bounded on one side by the territories of Cashmere and Chumba, and on the other by Koolloo, Spiti and Ladak. "Various races of men, belonging to distinct types of the human family and speaking different languages, are distributed over its surface. Here are hills just raised above the level of the plains, and mountain crests higher than any peaks of the Andes. Every tone of climate and variety of vegetation is here to be met with, from the scorching heat and exuberant growth of the tropics, to barren heights, destitute of verdure, and capped with perpetual snow. Hills dissolve into gentle slopes, and platforms of tableland and valleys become convulsed and upheaved, so as no longer to be

distinguished from the ridges which environ them. I know no spot in the Himalayas which for beauty can compete with the Kangra valley and the overshadowing hills. No scenery, in my opinion, presents such sublime and delightful contrasts. Below lies the plain, a picture of rural loveliness and repose. The surface is covered with the richest cultivation, irrigated by streams which descend from perennial snows, and interspersed with homesteads buried in the midst of groves and fruit trees. Turning from this scene of peaceful beauty, the stern and majestic hills above Dhurmsalla confront you. Their sides are furrowed with precipitous watercourses. Forests of oak clothe their flank, and higher up give place to gloomy and funereal pines. Above all, are wastes of snow or pyramidal masses of granite, too perpendicular for the snow to rest upon."¹

It is upon scenery such as this that the pretty little village of Dhurmsalla, the last resting-place of Lord Elgin, looks down. It is approached from the Simla direction by the Rotung Pass, at an elevation of 16,000 feet above the level of the sea. Thoroughly enjoying the magnificent scenery of the mountain ranges, Lord Elgin sat for a whole hour on the summit of the pass exposed to a keen cutting wind. After this, he resolved rashly to cross a famous bridge near the same spot, constructed of twigs and branches of trees, a feat which at any time requires considerable nerve, besides great physical exertion. The terrors of the passage were heightened at the time by the swollen condition of the torrent that thundered below. It is not every man that can safely travel in the interior of the Himalayas, for you are always liable to a sudden and unexpected strain on the nerves. Nor can the venturesome traveller who scales the dizzy height by a pathway a foot wide, or crosses foaming torrents by bridges made of a single rope, or twigs, always calculate beforehand the extent to which his nervous system will be tested, or the amount of physical exertion it will be necessary to put

¹ Settlement Report of the late Mr. George Barnes, Commissioner.

forth. With youth, health, good spirits, and presence of mind, a man may pass through many dangers which, if they encountered him at an advanced age, with failing powers and weakened nerves, might prove fatal. Had Lord Elgin been a younger man, he would have had resources to draw upon. As it was, he overtasked himself. He was at the time suffering from an affection of the heart, which might have been aggravated by the rarity of the atmosphere at that great elevation, and was certainly aggravated by the unwonted exertion. His sitting on the summit of the pass so long was a most imprudent act for a man not in robust health and over-fatigued. The attempt to cross the bridge was worse. The nervous system could not sustain the shock, or the physical exertion required to bring him safely on to *terra firma* was too much.

Fear is hardly the emotion you undergo when you suddenly find yourself on the edge of some tremendous precipice, or on a narrow plank, or a loose rope bridge with a roaring torrent and an abyss below. It occasionally happens to a traveller in the Himalayas, not accustomed to mountain paths and crags or precipices, to find himself suddenly in some such position, and then all depends on the extent to which his nervous system answers the sudden and unexpected call made upon it. To judge by the expression of Lord Elgin's features when he reached the bank, that call had been answered, but at the expense of life. It showed how tremendous the struggle had been. But he had conquered, and had unassisted reached the bank in safety, when he endeavoured to persuade himself and those about him that he was suffering merely from excess of fatigue. After this, the camp moved slowly along the narrow hill roads over the summit of the mountains, down their rugged sides, across the valleys, over the watercourses, and on from stage to stage till they reached the lovely spot called Dhurmsalla. Here there is a small British settlement, a

regiment of Goorkhas, and a few civil officers with their families, completing the little circle of English society, which is augmented every summer by visitors from the neighbouring towns in the Punjab.

Too ill to ride, the Viceroy had been carried in a litter, and his physician, Dr. Macrae, telegraphed for from Calcutta. It was deemed unadvisable to move the patient beyond Dhurmsalla. Then came grave consultations, and the anxious inquiry, alas! too familiar to those whose lot is cast in India, often asked many times in a day, if the patient can bear the journey to the sea. Here it was out of the question. The short story of Lord Elgin's last illness and death is full of melancholy pathos, yet the picture is so softened with the tints of peacefulness and repose which cheer the last hours of the dying Christian, that the contemplation of it gives rise to many feelings besides mere grief and sorrow. Here, amid the glories and grandeur of that mountain scenery, where every crag and rock,—the snow-capped peaks tossing their summits into the sky so far as to seem as if they belonged to some other world, and not to this; bleak, barren, lifeless regions of eternal snow; the bold, steep precipices whose face the bird alone can scale; mountain torrents roaring down their rocky beds, and tumbling in wild revelry a hundred feet at a time over some cascade,—where every feature of external nature speaks to the mind of the power and majesty of the Creator; within view of the smiling valleys which, lying as they do close up to the foot of the hills, seem as full of lessons of love and mercy as their giant guardians are of terror and majesty and awe: amid such scenery as this, far from his native land, but tended in his last moments by his wife, Lord Elgin awaited the message of death.

For lessons of patience and faith in the last hour, we are generally sent to the death-bed of the poor and humble. But in that distant though lovely spot in the Himalayas, there was one calmly and peacefully contemplating the approach of dissolution, who had a large share of the world's honours

and wealth to leave this side the grave. In perfect possession of his faculties, Lord Elgin made his will, arranged his affairs, and even gave detailed instructions as to his funeral. When it was found that there was no hope of recovery, a chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Baldwin, had been summoned from Lahore—not, as is too often the case when clergymen are summoned to the bedside of a dying man, to hold out the hope of repentance then for the first time embraced, but to solace and to cheer, and to accompany to the verge of the grave the soul that was about, not unprepared, to meet its God. So long had he lingered thus between life and death, so fully had he arranged, as it were, all the preparations for his journey, that the coffin had been ready many days before it was required, and the design for the tomb and the stone and inscription had been ready planned and fixed upon. It was his thoughtful care for Lady Elgin that induced him to press on these preparations, usually left to the mourners after death. But he would spare her the painful details, and wished that after his departure she might see the whole complete before she quitted the spot for ever. Lady Elgin herself selected the site for the tomb, which is marked by a plain massive stone and inscription, and a cross, also of stone, twenty-seven feet in height.

So died, on the 20th November, 1863, the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, K.T., G.C.B., K.S.I.

He was the eldest son of the Earl of Elgin whose name is inseparably associated with the "Elgin Marbles" in the British Museum, which the Earl had removed when he was ambassador at Constantinople. As Governor-General of Canada, Lord Elgin had exhibited considerable aptitude for the difficult work of controlling and soothing down the excitement of party rancour, of amalgamating discordant elements, and introducing broad principles of sound political economy in place of an administration conducted to suit the selfish interests of individuals and cliques. It is said to have been a wish formed early in life that he might become

Governor-General of India. If so, he affords an instance of a man living to attain the object of his early ambition, though not permitted to enjoy it long.

Lord Elgin's experience in representative government, gained in Canada, would have been but of little use to him in India. Up to the time of his death, he had not been long enough in the country to acquire the knowledge which it is necessary for a Viceroy new to the country to possess, before he can inaugurate or adopt any particular line of policy. It is impossible therefore to know, as it is now fruitless to inquire, whether he would have answered the high expectations formed of him, and which his success in the post he had held previously in a measure justified.

The news of his death reached England a few days after the event. The eyes of the Government were becoming opened to the gravity of the political crisis on the frontier, enhanced by rumours of secret disaffection in the provinces. The danger from the latter source appeared all the greater from the uncertainty attending it. That there was a movement of some kind going on among the Mahommedan population, and that it was instigated by the preachers of Wahabeeism, was indeed known, but it was not till December of this year that Captain Parsons was able to discover the connecting link between the Patna conspiracy and the action on the frontier. Under the circumstances, the Government set aside all considerations of party feeling, and nominated the best man they could find to take the helm when there were portents boding stormy weather on the political horizon ; and for the first time in the history of India a member of the Indian Civil Service whose previous career had given him a claim to something more than the credit of a successful Indian official, was appointed Viceroy. Sir John Lawrence's nomination was variously regarded in India. By some it was hailed with acclamations, but in the higher ranks of his own service Sir John's merits had been more tardily recognised than elsewhere, either from a feeling of jealousy, or from an idea prevalent among his former

associates and contemporaries that he had been somewhat overrated in England after 1857-8. But England could not forget the claims of the man who had done so much to steer her out of a great difficulty. At home, men saw in Sir John Lawrence the vigorous administrator who had saved the Punjab, and then with the resources of the Punjab had come to the rescue. Men of his own service in India saw in him the quondam collector, and the lucky commissioner who had climbed into eminence on the ladder of his brother's fame. In England, men saw that the Punjab system had succeeded when other systems had completely failed, and rejoiced to think that the man who had inaugurated, might now be in a position to extend it. Those on the spot, who had a nearer view of that much-vaunted system, could see its faults, which statesmen afar off could not. They knew it to be a system well adapted for a new province, and calculated to work well in the hands of a man of genius and vigour, but they also knew that the system had already developed its own inherent defects, and would in the ordinary course of things continue to develop them still more under the control of less able minds; and they dreaded lest they should see all India undergoing the process of Punjabization. Thus Sir John Lawrence's advent as Viceroy was hailed with different feelings. Old Indian civilians shook their heads. The younger ones were divided between the opinion of their seniors, and the compliment paid to their service by the selection of one of its members for the post. With military men and the non-official community the appointment was generally popular. Among the natives it was popular too, as far as popularity can be claimed at all from such a quarter: they felt that at last India had a Viceroy who would not have to go to school for the first three years of his incumbency. But the effect of the selection was most marked in the immediate subsidence of all that petty effervescence of disaffection that had been so long agitating the substrata of native society.

Upon the death of Lord Elgin the temporary vacancy was filled by Sir William Denison, who went round from Madras to Calcutta, taking his staff with him, to enjoy for a brief period the honours of the viceregal office. Sir Wm. Denison had not been popular in Madras. The charge brought against him was the same that may be urged against every new governor of a colony or a dependency, who sees it for the first time as its ruler—that of doing nothing. It is, in fact, impossible for a Viceroy strange to the country to do much for the first year or two but apply the whole powers of his mind to learning the nature of the duties entailed by his new position, and acquiring information about the country and the people. In the difficult question of land tenure Sir William Denison refused to be entangled. But in the extension of education and the general improvement of the country, measures which required the application only of broad principles of administration, he did exert himself. He had lately advanced a scheme for the introduction by Government of agricultural implements, which it appeared to him were so much required in lieu of the rude contrivances the ryots and zemindars had received from their forefathers. Sir William Denison was right so far, but the main difficulty to be overcome was not to procure the implements, but to induce the natives to use them. The rude country cart, and the plough that barely scratches the surface of the soil, the primitive apparatus for irrigating the fields, which may be constructed out of the materials the fields themselves supply, are probably the same now as they were a thousand years ago, or at the earliest commencement of agricultural enterprise. The natives are satisfied with them; they will use no other. English ploughs, steam-pumps, spades and wheelbarrows are articles they will not use—at least of their own accord—because their fathers and forefathers before them were content without these things. For a long while after wheelbarrows were introduced in the Public Works Department, and forced upon the coolies on the

roads, whenever the eye of the European overseer was turned away they would load the barrows and put them on the heads of three men, one supporting the wheel and the two others the legs, and so convey the material. What Sir William Denison should have done if he had wanted to introduce agricultural improvements into India, was not to procure the necessary implements, but to endeavour to introduce such changes in the system of administration as would admit of and encourage the settlement of European capitalists (not colonists) as farmers on a large scale, or zemindars. Where a European has occupied this position, a marked improvement has been observed in the condition of the labourer. Not only the ryots on his own land or farm, but all in the neighbourhood within a practicable distance, soon get to look up to him, to resort to him for advice and protection, for medical aid in time of sickness. They see him working with improved implements, and they appreciate the advantages he derives from them ; and after a while, if left to themselves, will begin to wish for them. Precept goes for little with the natives of India. Example goes a great way, especially if they are left to gather their own impressions from what they see, and are not forced to embrace the convictions of others. It was a bad day for India when the excitement consequent on the indigo disturbances in Bengal left the impression on the public mind that the European planter was the oppressor, and not the friend of the ryot. But while Sir William Denison aimed at the introduction of improved agricultural implements, the complaints of the planters in Wynaad against his obstructive measures, and the little encouragement afforded them in the construction of roads, indicated a neglect of the only means calculated to effect his object.

A question of the utmost importance engaged Sir William Denison's attention immediately on his arrival at Calcutta. To appreciate thoroughly the nature of the crisis, an acquaintance with the outlines of the Umbeyla campaign is indispensable. Our troops had entered a

difficult country in the mountains beyond the Indus, in pursuance of a plan of the campaign sketched by General Sir Neville Chamberlain, in conjunction with Colonel Taylor, the civil officer in charge of that portion of the North-West frontier. Opposed first by physical obstacles and then by political difficulties, the force had come to a standstill in a mountain pass surrounded by hostile tribes. Incessant fighting and great losses had reduced the strength of the division to a condition of dangerous weakness, in spite of the reinforcements which were being pushed up with all haste to the scene of danger. All the neighbouring garrisons had been denuded of troops for this purpose. The fanaticism of the warlike trans-Indus tribes had been thoroughly aroused, the Akhoond of Swat was preaching a holy war against the infidel, and we were threatened with a most formidable combination, and a hostile movement against our whole frontier. The bulk of the army consisted of native troops, enlisted in a great measure from among the very tribes who were now being called to arms against us. Hitherto they had indeed behaved nobly, but the instincts of human nature taught us that there must be a limit to their fidelity when incessant appeals were made to their patriotism and fanaticism, and when they saw us hesitating to advance, and holding with daily decreasing strength, though with unabated determination and bravery, the position we had gained. Lord Elgin lay lingering in his last illness, utterly unable to attend to business, and a heavy responsibility devolved upon Sir Robert Montgomery, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. From the frontier post the officers in charge reported the excitement of the neighbouring tribes, and their growing determination to take part in the war. A persistence in offensive measures appeared as if it would lead with certainty to an expensive and an extended campaign. To make matters worse, General Chamberlain lay badly wounded and unable to attend to business, while the tribes were gathering in front,

increasing daily in strength, and a disaster would have set the whole country in a flame. Sir Robert Montgomery yielded to a sense of responsibility, and telegraphed to the General his permission to retire, without regard to political considerations, if he deemed it advisable. The effect of this was to shift the responsibility on to the shoulders of the officer in command of the force, now disabled by a serious wound.

Sir Hugh Rose, who was a member of the Supreme Government, as well as Commander-in-chief, was with Lord Elgin in his last illness. Upon the emergency arising, he left the Governor-General's camp and hastened to Lahore, where he remonstrated most strongly upon the proposed withdrawal of the troops, and ordered fresh reinforcements by forced marches to the frontier. At that time there were 25,000 troops north of the Jhelum. Sir William Denison arrived in Calcutta on the 1st December, and found the majority of the Council, in spite of Sir Hugh Rose's remonstrances and the opinions of the civil and military officers on the spot, in favour of withdrawing the force. At once his judgment pointed out to him the disastrous consequences of such a step. Unfettered by that fear of responsibility which is the inevitable tendency of an official mind accustomed always to one groove and ever dependent upon the authority of a superior, Sir William Denison set aside the timid counsels of his advisers, and at length induced them to cancel their final decision. He wrote:¹ "The Government, yielding to these pressing instances, conceded to the wish of the Lieutenant-Governor, and gave directions on November 26th that the troops should be withdrawn as soon as it could be done without risk of military disaster, or without seriously compromising our military reputation. . . . My opinion was, and is, that the withdrawal of the troops from what has proved to be merely a defensive position would be con-

¹ "The Sittana Campaign." By Sir John Adye, C.B., Bengal Artillery.

sidered by the mountain tribes as equivalent to a victory ; and although I do not doubt the possibility of withdrawing the force without serious loss, I yet felt convinced that the moral effect of such a move upon our troops would be of the worst description. I was, and am of opinion, that a movement in retreat would probably bring about all the financial difficulties so vividly described by Sir Charles Trevelyan : for the certain result would be such a series of aggressions on the part of the mountain tribes, elated by their supposed success in causing us to retreat, as would compel us to make a more serious attack upon them in the course of the next year, for the purpose of asserting our superiority."

It was a fortunate moment indeed for India that Sir William Denison appeared upon the scene at that crisis ; for a retreat would have not only brought upon us an invasion which might have sorely taxed our resources to resist, but would have destroyed the confidence of our native troops, and endangered a second mutiny even more disastrous than the first. In addition to which, the movement which provoked the Umbeyla campaign, as was fully shown afterwards, was a deep-seated spirit of disaffection, which had spread over one-half of India at least. Retreat under such circumstances would have been to the last degree disastrous.

Having calmed the fears of his Council, and brought them to see the matter in its true light, Sir William Denison telegraphed to Lahore, expressing his entire confidence in the measures undertaken by Sir Hugh Rose, and desiring that the operations might be pushed on with vigour and determination—and India was saved a second rebellion.

During the whole of 1863, the spirit of commercial speculation, first aroused by the discovery of the inexhaustible character of India's natural resources, and awakened into thorough vitality by the rise in the value of cotton consequent on the American war, was unusually active.

It partially developed itself in the mania for tea cultivation, alluded to in a former chapter, but it was very far from confining itself to that limit. For a while it seemed as if all the European community in India had gone mad after Joint Stock Companies. Members of both services, from top to bottom, speculated in some company or other. If ten men met at a dinner table, five being officers of the army and five of the civil service, the chances were that ere the first course was removed the conversation would turn upon the share list; one would have shares in a steam tug, another in a coal mine, a third in a general dealer's business, a fourth in a wine company, a fifth in a grain company, a sixth in a cotton-screwing concern, a seventh in an iron company, and so on. Each would be equally sanguine of the success of his own favourite speculation. A year or two later, the same men might have met one another, and, on comparing notes, would have discovered that in every case their money was either lost altogether, or the company in process of liquidation. But it was not only in official circles that the joint-stock mania found victims. The commercial world was just as much a prey to it, and it would take a long time to reckon up the number of companies that came into existence in 1863-4. Almost every private business, no matter of what kind, was sold by the proprietor to a company, he himself generally taking a large part of the purchase money in shares, and in every case realizing a large sum. The *Friend of India*, writing in December 1863, says, that he is within the mark in estimating the amount which within the following three months would be swallowed up by calls of Joint Stock Companies, in Calcutta alone, at one and a third millions sterling.

Towards the end of the year this state of things was followed by a most severe depression in the money-market, which is worthy of observation and study, because it was a result exactly the contrary of what might have been anticipated from the enormous advantages India had been

reaping by the rise of cotton and the increase of her exports. In 1861 three hundred and forty-three million pounds of cotton sold for Rs. 9,26,35,531. In 1862, three hundred and sixty-five million pounds brought Rs. 14,83,54,800.¹ The first symptom of the great depression in the money-market occurred in Bombay in the month of October,² and its effects upon the revenue were more particularly marked in the item of opium. The Customs' receipts from the same cause fell to 140,166*l.* less than the actual receipts of the previous year. This decrease in the Customs' duties was mainly owing to the continued high price of manufactured cotton from Manchester. The stagnation of the manufactured cotton trade, coming at the same time as the increased call for the raw material from India, contributed indirectly to the abnormal condition of the money-market at this period, yet the phases this branch of commerce underwent at the time are very curious. Colonel Baird Smith had shown that the stagnation of the cotton-trade in 1859-60 was to be attributed to the depression in stock caused by commercial difficulties in England in 1857-8, and to the large shipments made on speculation in addition to the usual exports, to take advantage of the high prices arising from the preceding cause. At this crisis came the American war, and the supply of cotton threatened to cease. The proprietors of goods held in India then instructed their agents to demand an equivalent advance to that which had taken place in Europe. Believing that the native dealers and consumers would be obliged to give in to their high prices, the exporters continued to ship; but the native dealers, aware of the large stock held in Europe, and expecting a cessation of the war in America, when they knew the prices would fall, refused to purchase. A glut of the market in piece-goods consequently ensued. Sir Charles Trevelyan, whose budget statement for 1863-4 has been quoted here, is careful to point out the real cause

¹ *The Friend of India*.

² Sir Charles Trevelyan's budget statement, for 1864-5.

of the depression in the trade, because the blame of it was laid by the Manchester houses upon the import duty of 5 per cent. levied in India. Sir Charles Trevelyan on the same occasion was careful to point out also, that the English merchants in India, who had better means of information than their corresponding houses at home, did not apply for any reduction of the duty, because they knew that that duty was not the cause of the depression of the trade. Upon this state of things there came a sudden reaction in 1862. "This great population," says Sir Charles Trevelyan, "never had so much money." Their increased wealth was owing to the demand for Indian raw cotton, but the people hoarded their silver, and would not purchase manufactured cotton, as they were waiting till prices should go down. When they found that prices did not fall, they opened their hoards and began to purchase, and then there came the reaction in the piece-goods trade, in the course of which, the *Friend of India* says, one Calcutta house alone realized a profit of 210,000*l.* in a few months. At that time the prices had risen so much that 7-lb. shirtings, which were once dear at five rupees, were cheap at nine, and the price continued to rise.

But although this sudden demand temporarily relieved the stagnation in the piece-goods trade, and made the fortunes of some few individual firms, the absorption of silver bullion in India had been going on at a rate that threatened to exhaust the silver currency altogether. In 1862-3 more than twenty-two millions of silver was imported into India. In Bombay alone, the import from the 1st May to December was five millions. During the year the export trade from India rose from forty-three to sixty-three millions; and, when it is recollected that the bulk of this was paid for in silver, which flowed into the agricultural districts, till, as Sir Charles Trevelyan says, the enormous population of India never had so much money, and that then it was hoarded, buried in the ground, or converted into ornaments, it is not difficult to understand that it

should be followed by a severe depression in the money-market. In the early part of the following year the attention of the Chamber of Commerce of the three Presidency towns was directed to the subject, and they drew up memorials to the Viceroy. According to the memorial from the Bombay Chamber, which seems to have taken the lead in the discussion, during the last six years in India alone the average annual absorption of silver had been eleven and a half millions sterling, and in the previous year had been fourteen and a half millions; while the produce of the silver of the whole world only amounted to ten millions; so that during the previous six years India had consumed fifteen per cent. and during the previous year fifty per cent. more silver than the whole world annually produces. While the production of silver had remained stationary, that of gold had increased at least 150 per cent. more than silver; and although not a legal tender in India, its importation had increased for many years, in the previous year the amount being seven millions sterling, while in Bombay alone from the 1st May to the 31st December, 1863, three and a half millions were imported. The report concludes with recommending very strongly the introduction of a gold currency.

Up to the present time (Sept. 1868) the Government have not ventured to adopt any of the various schemes submitted to it for the introduction of a gold currency; but the subject is, and has been for some years, under consideration, and it is not impossible that before these pages go to press, some definite step may have been taken. A country with so rich an export trade as India, and so poor a currency, cannot be otherwise than in the position of an absorbent of bullion. Nor is there any visible limit to its capacity in this respect. It is vain to look for the time when the vast agricultural population of India shall be glutted with silver. If India's

capabilities for absorbing bullion are tested to the last, it will be found that they will not be exhausted, even if all the precious metals of the world are drained into her ample bosom.

Next to the gold currency, an extensive paper-currency is to be looked upon as a source of relief; but as yet, writing in 1868, the currency notes have not become popular; they are appreciated by the European community, but the natives, the mass of the people, still prefer their old system of "hoondeean," as it is called. Social reform is slower in its progress in India than in any country in the world, and time must be allowed to elapse before the people are sufficiently enlightened to invest their money instead of hoarding it, or to prefer the convenient medium of currency notes to their own "hoondees," or bills of exchange.

Saving these remedies, the only method by which we can escape the inevitable result of India's absorptive powers in respect of silver, is by inducing her to take in exchange for her raw produce and her rapidly increasing exports, manufactured goods. In dealing with America, England paid her for her raw produce with her manufactures. It is to be hoped that as facilities of communication increase, and civilization progresses among the agricultural population, this mode of payment may become more extensively adopted. This much is clear, that if India's capacity for absorbing precious metals is so great that all the world's produce cannot satiate her, her capacity for purchasing English manufactures must be equally unlimited. The more civilization advances, the greater will be the demand for the products of the looms, mills, and factories of Manchester, Sheffield, and Birmingham; and in proportion as the influence of education spreads, will the commerce between the two countries, increasing as it grows, keep itself within the natural and easy channels of reciprocal advantage, regulating its demand and supply

not only in quantity but in kind. When a man has learnt to read and think, the first thing he feels the want of, next to food, is clothing; and, in reality, it is the schoolmaster who will do more than any other person to open out that almost inexhaustible market for Manchester goods, which now lies undeveloped throughout the half-savage agricultural districts of the continent of India.

CHAPTER VIII.

1864.

Sir John Lawrence—The condition of the English soldier in India—Soldiers' workshops—Personal religion in the barracks—New style of barracks—Hill climate—Distribution of the army—Lahore Exhibition—Sir Robert Montgomery's address—Progress in the Punjab—Sanitation—Cholera Commission—The Meean Meer hospitals—The cyclone at Calcutta—Durbar at Lahore.

ON the 12th January Sir John Lawrence landed in Calcutta, and was enthusiastically received not only at the Presidency, where there was more heartiness of welcome than method in displaying it, but in the provinces. Enthusiasm has no part in Asiatic character; the nearest approach to it that we have witnessed in India, at least with reference to a Governor's popularity, being the reception Sir Charles Trevelyan had met with at Madras; and even then his claim to popularity, according to a native orator, rested on the fact that he was the first Governor who had varied the monotony of official routine. For the first time we read of the proclamation announcing the arrival of a new Viceroy being received with hearty cheers by the soldiers on parade, headed by their officers. Without any external show—affection is an offensive word—of philanthropy, Sir John Lawrence has ever evinced the most thoughtful consideration for the welfare of the British soldier. As Viceroy and Governor-General, it was not his province to originate or enforce suggestions for the improvement of their diet or their personal comfort, although in these respects he has ever leaned to the liberal side in every matter which has been referred to him. But, actuated himself by deep

religious principle, he has never failed to see in the soldier something more than the mere State machine. Utterly untractable are the difficulties we meet with on the very threshold when we aim at improving the moral condition of the barracks. There is absolutely no solution to be found for them. The mortality of the English soldiers in India will be considered in another chapter more in detail; here it is only necessary to remind the reader that out of the 60 per thousand who never live to return to their native shores, by far the greater majority—authorities differ as to the actual proportion; we shall not be far from the mark at putting it down at four-sixths of the whole—fall a sacrifice to passions and habits to which the warm climate of the East renders resistance doubly difficult, at the same time that it aggravates tenfold the mischief of indulgence. The moral effects of the Indian climate are far more dangerous than the physical. We place the half-educated lad with perhaps but very imperfectly developed ideas of religion, probably with no experience in himself of the virtue of self-denial, in a position where to be chaste and temperate requires a struggle which might well appal a member of a religious brotherhood earnest in attempts to subdue the frailties of human nature. It is impossible altogether to avoid this, although much might be done, with the resources at our disposal, to mitigate the force of the temptation to immorality to which the soldier in India is exposed. The long tedious hours of the Indian summer day, which must be spent indoors, are often wearisome enough to the man of intellect and cultivated taste. Even with the resources of music and painting in addition to those of literature and society, the time often hangs heavily indeed upon the educated though unemployed man; what must it be to the soldier in a crowded barrack, who has no resource but to lie on his bed and gaze on the barren, ugly, whitewashed walls, or keep up a monotonous conversation with his comrade—monotonous from the absence of any topic of interest, or change of scene, or intervals of solitude

to invigorate the mind by thought? The pipe and the strongest Cavendish tobacco are called in to lighten the dreary burden till the declining sun will allow of a lazy stroll through the bazaar in the sweltering heat. From incessant smoking comes incessant thirst, aggravated intensely by the heat; and in addition to this there is the craving for stimulants of an opposite kind which the use of tobacco begets, and which lies, perhaps, somewhere near the source of that mysterious sensation—the pleasure of smoking—which no smoker has ever yet been able satisfactorily to describe. To appease the demon, resort is had to the canteen; but the allowance procurable there is limited, and the shops of the spirit-dealers in the bazaar who surreptitiously supply the European soldiers with the most pernicious substitute for rum and gin, is the next place visited; and, failing these, the general shops always have on hand a large stock of what is called eau-de-cologne, which is sold at three or four shillings a dozen, and in reality is nothing but gin put into old eau-de-cologne bottles, slightly scented with some perfume. Equally, if not more fatal in its effects than the vice of intemperance is the indulgence of those passions which a life of idleness and vacuity of mind is peculiarly calculated to encourage. The ravages of disease upon the constitution of the soldier in India from this cause are fearful to contemplate, though it is satisfactory to know that in some garrisons the activity of the medical officers, when supported by the commandant, in supervising lock hospitals, has been attended with marked success.

Sir John Lawrence was at one time a warm advocate for the plan of allowing an increase in the percentage of the soldiers permitted to marry. The time is not far distant, we may hope, when this all-important subject will receive the attention it deserves from Parliament. Sir Hugh Rose, who was unflagging in his exertions to improve the condition of the soldier, regarded the question from a practical point of view; arguing with much force, that a small army really efficient was of much more value than one numerous

when reckoned by returns and muster rolls, but comparatively weak in actual fitness for field service. Throughout the whole of his career as Commander-in-Chief he unceasingly urged on the Government the establishment of more stations for soldiers in the hills, but from motives of ill-judged economy his call met with too slender a response. He succeeded, however, in carrying out a measure which served in some way to mitigate the worst evils of barrack life, viz. the establishment of workshops and gardens, where the men are encouraged to spend some portion of their leisure hours in useful occupation. This measure, however excellent in itself, is restricted in its operation; for resort to the workshop or garden is of course voluntary, and the majority of the men who enlist in the army do so to avoid, not to obtain work.

Another measure recently sanctioned by Sir John Lawrence shows that his views of the soldier's condition are grounded on a principle higher than that of securing, as far as possible, the efficiency of a State machine. There is, perhaps, no position in life so little favourable to the cultivation or the development of religious impressions as that of the private soldier, who lives day and night in the company of a large number of comrades. Once on a Sunday the regiment is paraded for divine service, the men of different persuasions attending their own place of worship. But there is scarcely anything so antagonistic to serious thought as a life perpetually passed in public. Retirement of some kind at some stated interval is indispensable to the cultivation of that communion between the soul and its Creator which is the very life-blood of personal religion. How is the soldier to attain this? From the moment when he is dismissed from morning parade to the time when the lights in the barracks are put out—lights so poor that it is difficult, if not impossible, to read by them—the soldier is surrounded by a crowd of men as a rule but slightly influenced by any thoughts beyond those of the mere passing hour, or of any consideration save that

of getting through the weary day with as much enjoyment and as little tedium as practicable. In most regiments, happily, now-a-days there will be found at least one officer who devotes his spare time and his influence to the encouragement of a religious spirit among those who feel disposed to listen to his exhortations or imitate his example. And with the view of facilitating such efforts, and at the same time affording the thoughtful soldier an asylum where, if courageous enough to disregard the taunts and scoffs of his more worldly-minded comrades, he may find an opportunity for silent meditation, devout reading, and prayer, Sir John Lawrence has recently directed that there shall always be a building in every range of barracks set apart for such purposes.

It would be impossible in this place to recapitulate all the arguments that have been repeatedly urged in almost every public journal in India for years past in favour of Sir Hugh Rose's scheme for availing ourselves much more than we do at present of the benefits of a hill climate for the soldiers. Within the last six years Government have expended enormous sums on the construction of barracks almost palatial in their extent and appearance, in many of the garrisons in Upper India. The new style of barracks is a large double-storied building, the upper story being used for purposes of habitation, the lower devoted to exercise and athletic sports and amusements. The advantages derivable from double-storied habitations in India have been strangely overlooked by the past generation, who constructed most of the dwelling-houses and barracks now in use. The practice of sleeping on a ground-floor in a tropical climate is well known to invite the influence of malaria, and it is not easy to calculate the diminution in the mortality in European life in India for the last century, had it been always the practice to build in double stories. Before the introduction of railways into India it was necessary to locate our European soldiers in garrisons throughout the country, in order that they might be on the

spot in the event of any emergency. That necessity is diminishing yearly as our railway system develops itself; and with railways to the foot of the different hill ranges, there is no reason at all why the soldiers should not be quartered in a healthy climate. It is urged, on the one hand, that there is a certain moral effect produced upon the minds of disaffected natives by the constant presence of English soldiers close to their large cities. No doubt this is true; but, on the other hand, the moral effect would be quite as great, probably much greater, if it were known that the outer ranges of the Himalaya mountains, the Neilgherries in Madras, and other mountain ranges available for the purpose in Central and Western India, were studded with barracks full of Englishmen in the prime of health and strength, who might, at the interval at the most of a day or two, be transplanted by rail to any given point.

The best arrangement for the relief and quartering of the European garrison of India would be as follows:¹—Instead of sending out regiments, as is now done, to Calcutta for Bengal, to Madras and Bombay, and confining their tour of duty to those presidencies, a regiment should be told off, before relief, for Bengal Proper, another for the North-West Provinces (including Oude), another for the Punjab, a fourth for the Central Provinces, a fifth for Bombay, a sixth for Madras, a seventh for Scinde. We should then have seven localities, or districts, of not unmanageable extent, to which each regiment, in its tour of Indian service, would be confined. An examination of the map will show that in each of these territories, or divisions, there is at least one sanitarium within a reasonable distance of the furthest limits of the division; in one at least—the North-West Provinces—there are several. Scinde is the only place where as yet no hill sanitarium has been discovered; and until some salubrious site shall be found, or in lieu of it if never found,

¹ For these suggestions I am indebted to Deputy-Inspector-General Munro, of the Umballa Division.

the sea-coast will afford a much better substitute than is generally supposed. For a great proportion of the diseases and complaints for which men are sent to a hill-climate, the sea air, when there is proper accommodation provided, is in effect far more beneficial.

The regiments thus told off, as it were, to their respective provinces might be moved about within those limits as the exigencies of the service required ; and a certain proportion for each regiment should be retained alternately always in the sanitarium, instead of using the latter, as is done under the existing system, as resorts for depôts of invalids, who mostly reach the elevated regions when too far gone to derive much permanent benefit from the change. At present there is no good sanitarium in the Central Provinces, although there are several sites which might be adapted to the purpose. But the Himalayas are within not inconvenient distance of the garrisons in this part of India, and, with the railway communication between the most distant of these garrisons and the hills, the journey might be accomplished in two or three days. At present a regiment sent to Bengal may be quartered in any station from Calcutta to Central India or to Peshawur, the climate between these limits differing as much as it does between England and India ; and although there is no such thing as acclimatization, in the sense of an Englishman becoming inured to the influence of a tropical sun or malaria, yet the repeated exposure of the soldier to different climates, each in its way equally unfavourable to the European constitution, during his tour of Indian duty, cannot but be regarded as prejudicial.

Under the proposed system it would be possible to maintain a just and fair proportion in the distribution of regiments and detachments in healthy localities, which is under existing arrangements unattainable. Were troops located in hill stations, there is no reason why a larger proportion of the men should not be allowed to have their wives with them ; while out-of-door occupation, as salutary

in that climate as it is in England, would relieve the soldier of at least one-half the temptations that now lure him to the destruction both of body and soul.

Sir John Lawrence landed on the 12th of January. By that time the campaign on the North-West frontier had been closed. The Umbeyla Pass, indeed, had been entirely evacuated the day before Christmas Day ; but a few regiments were left to assist the Guides in the work of burning and destroying some villages in the country recently occupied by the enemy. In India events succeed one another with a rapidity equalling that of the change of scenery upon the stage. Hardly were the embers of the burnt homesteads in the Indus valleys cold in their ashes, when the Punjab was taking the lead in a prominent manner in the cultivation of the arts and commerce. The Lahore Exhibition of Arts, Manufacture, and Produce, was the first attempt to imitate, on a humble scale, those magnificent displays with which the memory of the late Prince Consort is so intimately associated. There had been a collection of cattle at Benares, for which the ambitious title of an agricultural exhibition was claimed ; and at Calcutta a similar collection, on a larger scale, varied by agricultural machinery, was most creditable to Bengal. But the Lahore Exhibition assumed a more pretentious character, and aimed at a higher mark. In both cities the exhibitions were opened with all the *éclat* of an imposing ceremonial. At Calcutta the Viceroy was present ; and as much enthusiasm as could be got up for enormous bulls, huge buffaloes, unexceptionable Arab horses, a pony no larger than a Newfoundland dog, and machinery that could not be worked for want of steam-power, was shown by a mixed crowd of European ladies and gentlemen and native grandees, whose rich and brilliant dresses add much to the general effect of an assembly of the kind in India. At Lahore no official of higher rank than a Lieutenant-Governor was present to conduct the proceedings, but the collection of curiosities from all parts of the province and

its neighbourhood, the specimens of raw produce, minerals and ores, the models architectural and mechanical, the richest products of the far-famed looms and the skill of the handicraftsmen of Cashmere, the thousand and one objects of interest that can find their way into an exhibition whose programme is wide enough to embrace everything in art or nature that is capable of being transported to the spot—together made a display up to that day unique in India. Ceremonies on such occasions bear a great similarity to one another. There are the processions, the band, the soldiers, the uniforms, and the guns thundering a salute—particulars which befit the columns of a newspaper rather than the page of history; but a few sentences from Sir Robert Montgomery's address to the committee are deserving of more lasting record:—

“I receive your address with pleasure, yet with a mournful regret that the loss sustained by the Queen and the empire in the lamented demise of the late Viceroy, Lord Elgin, should cast a shade over this day's proceedings, even as the death of the Prince Consort, the great and good institutor of these displays, saddened the opening of the International Exhibition, which we now, however distantly attempt to imitate.

“It is true, as you have observed, that there are few traces here of that cultivated taste and refinement which have called forth in Europe the beautiful and delightful art of painting, sculpture, and music, and that the local manufactures are unaided by the wonderful inventions and extraordinary mechanical power which have so greatly strengthened the productive industry of Great Britain.

“But God has richly blessed these provinces with natural gifts; with mountains abounding in forest timber; with plains needing nothing but artificial irrigation to produce the finest crops; with rivers capable of watering the whole soil. But to render them increasingly serviceable to human sustenance and comfort, they must be brought under more complete subjection by human labour.”

The last province brought under British subjection except Oude, the Punjab, has made the furthest advance of any part of British India in a general diffusion of those ideas and habits of thought which are the necessary elements in civilization. With the exception, of course, of

the Presidency towns, and certain classes of the native community here and there throughout the provinces who have adopted English almost as a native language,—who speak, write, and read in that tongue as fluently as Englishmen themselves,—the Punjab has become more Anglicized in the short time since its annexation than any portion of the older provinces. At one time, indeed, there was a remarkable spirit of inquiry abroad on religious questions, which awakened a delusive hope that the people of this land would in a body embrace Christianity. The indication was deceptive; but there are many reasons for believing that, if ever Christianity is destined to be the national religion of India, or part of India, the reformation will be initiated in the Punjab. Without entering into any discussion of the peculiar characteristics of the non-regulation system, which have been alluded to under the chapter on legislation, it is sufficient to remark here, that the system is undoubtedly better calculated to extend the influence of English ideas and civilization generally, than that called in contradistinction the regulation system. The progress in the Punjab was not, however, due only to the system, which has been in operation in many other parts of India without producing any of the effects we see here. Oude, for instance, which, although it has not been incorporated with the empire so long as the Punjab, is yet under the non-regulation system, is as conspicuous for the absence of these landmarks of progress as the Punjab is for their presence.

As between these two provinces, the difference may be accounted for by the fact that the Punjab has been well governed, while Oude has been badly governed, misunderstood, and mismanaged from the very date of annexation. But a great deal of the success which has attended our efforts in the Punjab must be attributed to the character of the people. The races of Northern India are better developed altogether than the Hindostanees, possessed of

finer qualities, and presenting a better block for the sculptor's chisel. A Punjabee is more easily fashioned into a good specimen of his race than the native of other parts of India. In addition to this, the Government was especially fortunate in its officials. It is not necessary to say anything of the two Lawrences, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Colonels Lake, Taylor, Nicholson, James, Coke, and a host of others who may be called collectively the Lawrence school, some of whom are still at their posts, and some living in retirement, and some are silent in their graves. The names of the leading men have already attained a place in history; but there was a host of juniors and subordinates of whom history has never heard, one and all of whom strove hard to work up to the model which every Punjab official in former days put before him. It is to the united influence of all these men put together, working on the good foundation of the Punjabee character, that has made the province even now, in spite of its having long ago worn threadbare the non-regulation system, one of the foremost in the race towards civilization.

The progress of sanitation is of sufficient importance to demand a chapter to itself. It was in the present year that the Sanitary Commission was first appointed, at the head of which was Mr. John Strachey, formerly Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces, subsequently Chief Commissioner of Oude, and, later still, member of the Governor-General's Council. Previous to the institution of the Sanitary Commission, or, as it may be called, the Board of Health for all India, which was established permanently, two other commissions, appointed for a special purpose, had been sitting. These were the Commissariat and the Cholera Commissions. The former was assembled at the instance of Sir Hugh Rose, to investigate the system under which the Commissariat arrangements were carried on. The other, the Cholera Commission, was employed in collecting statistics, and recording opinions upon the phenomena, the progress, the treatment and its effects,

of epidemic cholera. The President of the Cholera Commission, Mr. John Strachey, accompanied by the other members, one of whom was a military, and the third a medical officer, visited the different places where the cholera epidemic of 1861 had been particularly severe, and collected such evidence in the shape of facts and opinions as were considered worthy of record. The report was never published *in extenso*, as originally drawn up, partly on account of a difference of opinion among the members, who were not unanimous in the conclusions deduced, partly in consequence of the shocking abuses revealed. So appalling were the recorded results of cowardice and neglect in some of the garrisons in Upper India, that the bare statement of them in a dry, official report was too terrible to be allowed to see the light. A considerable time has elapsed since then; and under the more efficient system that now prevails, a similar catastrophe, it is to be hoped, can hardly occur again. It will, therefore, not be imprudent, while it may serve some useful purpose, to intimate briefly the character of some of the abuses brought to light, which, shocking as they are, were nevertheless not deemed unfit for publication. There can be no question that, during the outbreak of 1861, numbers of lives—valuable lives—were thrown away by sheer neglect, or sacrificed on the altar of red-tapeism. A practice had been shortly before adopted of removing regiments and troops, as soon as the disease appeared among them, into camp. Cholera generally breaks out in Upper India in the rainy season, when the air is much cooler than in the previous month, the earth damp, low ground under water, large tracts of country turned into a swamp, and roads often almost impassable. It is obvious that at such a season the practice of moving troops into camp, if intended to benefit the health of the men, must be conducted with at least ordinary attention to arrangements for supplies, carriage, &c.; yet on many of these occasions, corps were actually marched out into the district, away from comfortable, dry barracks,

to bivouac on the wet ground ; in other cases their tents were pitched, but for want of the ordinary camp-bedsteads, through mismanagement, the men would have to sleep on the damp earth. At other times, they were taken toilsome marches over ploughed ground, where they sank ankle-deep in mire at every step, and brought up to the camp or bivouac exhausted by fatigue, and exposed to drenching rain. But the most appalling picture was that of the hospital at Meean Meer, the garrison at Lahore, situated about five miles from that city. Here might have been seen in a cantonment, during a period of peace, all the results of a panic on a field of battle. The hospitals, large buildings but badly constructed, were made to hold half as many again as they were intended for. The verandahs were crowded, and ventilation to the interior blocked up. The latrines were so foul that the effluvia from them are described as overpowering ; and as the committee report—a fact incredible, but for the weight which the names of the members give to their representations—the latrines contained the accumulated filth of ten years ! Over and over again had their condition been reported ; over and over again had the authorities been warned that, sooner or later, Nature would take a dire revenge for the insult offered to her in the open neglect of her laws. What *esprit de corps* is capable of accomplishing among departments, when it has risen to that point at which it is held a lesser evil that a whole army should perish than that one department should go an inch beyond the limit of its legitimate province to do the work belonging to another, we saw in the Crimea. As regards the latrines at Meean Meer, it would be difficult at this distance of time to point out with certainty the department or the office that should bear the blame of their intolerable condition. It did not rest with the medical officer, that is clear. It will very seldom be found that regimental medical officers neglect the sanitary condition of their hospitals. But their authority is very limited, and when they have reported a circumstance that

demands attention, or, it may be, requires an outlay of public funds to remedy, their resources are exhausted. Their requisitions may be attended to, or they may be lost in a labyrinth of official channels permeating through the Deputy-Inspector-General's, the Public Works', and the Quartermaster-General's departments. The state of things shown to exist at Meean Meer well illustrates the evils of divided responsibility, and a too unwieldy machinery of administration. There is no House of Commons in India to call to account the culpable neglect of public men. The head of each department fights the battles of all his subordinates, and the practical result is often seen in the total impossibility to lay the blame of some great disaster upon any individual.

The barracks must have been inspected twice yearly, according to regulation, by the general of division, ever since they were first occupied, yet for ten years the most ordinary rules for the preservation of the health of the soldiers were neglected. Without attempting definitely to fix upon the officer in fault on this occasion, it is impossible to escape the conviction that if the Quartermaster-General's department had done its duty, such a condition of things could not have been allowed to remain unnoticed.

These latrines, filled up to a distance of twenty-three feet from the surface, emitted effluvia perceptible in the stillness of the sultry night in all directions, but especially towards the barracks, and the air seemed everywhere impregnated with the foul exhalations. It was further shown that the filth from the native latrines was regularly sold for the purpose of feeding the sheep destined for the butchers' market.

The hospital was already filled with as many patients as it was adapted for when the epidemic appeared. Yet the cholera-patients were thrust into the already crowded wards. Under the pressure of work, and in the panic that ensued, the native establishment struck, and eventually matters came to such a pass, that the floor of the hospitals

was covered with excreta, which were never removed. The stench became insupportable; the very punkah-ropes were saturated with what Mr. Sloggett, the chaplain, described as the concentrated smell of cholera; the smell, the filth, the disorder, the cries, groans, and shoutings in the dismal place, where the thermometer stood day and night at 100°, formed altogether a combination of horrors amid which no man in rude health could be expected to live, and where the unfortunate patient was consigned to almost certain death under every external circumstance that could possibly aggravate the sufferings of men in the last extremity. The attendants, the comrades of the patients who were carried to this pest-house, succumbed under the accumulated horrors, till at last the victims stricken with the disease were left too often untended at all; they were simply placed there to die. Nor can it be wondered at that men allowed the disease to reach an unmanageable stage before they incurred the risk of being consigned to such a place as this. At Delhi, and at Morar the cantonment adjacent to the city of Gwalior, matters were very little better than at Meean Meer. The latrines were in the same neglected condition, the hospitals were pest-houses, instead of asylums for the relief of suffering.

The story reads more like an episode in some history of the Black Death two or three centuries ago, than a report of an occurrence in the nineteenth century, in a regiment of the British army.

Although not connected with the administration of India, the more immediate subject of these pages, the great cyclone which visited Calcutta in the latter part of 1864 deserves a passing notice in a record of the time. The cyclone, or hurricane, commenced about four o'clock in the morning of the 5th October, and lasted till about a quarter to ten. After a complete lull of nearly an hour the gale returned, and lasted till two o'clock, when it subsided. Its influence extended over an area of a hundred miles in diameter. Some idea of the violence of the wind,

and the destructive effects of the storm-wave, may be gathered from the following accounts, culled from the Calcutta papers and the official records ; but no pen can do justice to such a subject, or convey to the mind of the reader any adequate idea of the scene. The treacherous river, which a few hours after the storm was as placid as an inland lake, raged and foamed like an angry sea, and rushed in huge, black waves over its banks, threatening to engulf all before it. Large trees were torn up by their roots, and tossed about as if they were wisps of straw ; the roaring of the wind, the crashing of falling trees, verandahs, houses, and huts, was incessant, and for hour after hour the appalling strife continued till it seemed as if Nature herself mourned over the universal wreck which she had caused.¹ A writer in the *Englishman*, who was himself exposed to the storm, thus describes his sensations :—

“ Within three yards of the doorway (of the Post-office), I was borne off my legs as if I were a stray scarecrow, arms and legs all abroad, brought up against the wall of the house, and dropped into a torrent, which almost swept me along the open drain. . . .

“ About an hour later I ventured to try again, and the first thing I saw on leaving the shelter of a wall was the ruin of two street carriages (four-wheeled cabs of a large and strong make), which had been blown over bodily, and not far behind them was a native boat, a dingy, which having been blown ashore at the end of a street, was charging straight along it in the gusts which were then coming more fitfully. What is called the Strand Bank runs along the river-side, about six feet above the level of the ordinary spring tide ; it is a good wide road, and is bordered by large mercantile godowns (warehouses), offices, and the like, and along part of it runs an iron palisading or a low wall. Over wall and road the river at its height was literally leaping with the sort of short tumbling sea one sees in very bad weather in the Mersey ; the walls were carried away, the telegraph posts blown down, roofs blown off into the road, doors and windows blown clean away, and what should have been the roadway one rolling mass of the *débris* of cargo boats and their cargoes, rice, jute, rattan-cases, bales, and here and there the huge bulk of some ship or steamer driven right up beyond high-water mark. The gale was still so strong that it was impossible to make out any details of the growing ruin when darkness settled down with the rapidity which marks these latitudes.”

¹ *Friend of India*.

Another account, extracted from the same journal, gives a more comprehensive view of the general effects of the storm.

"During the whole of Tuesday night the weather was marked by a succession of squalls and heavy rain from the N.N.E., and it maintained the same character till about half-past ten on Wednesday morning, gradually increasing in violence. The wind then veered round to the east, and began to blow more steadily and with increased fury. The weaker trees were uprooted or broken short, but, for the first hour or so, no greater damage was done. Between eleven and twelve o'clock, a noise like that of distant thunder, which probably may have been heard from as far as two miles, gave warning, as it gradually increased, that something worse was coming. In about two minutes from this time the cyclone was upon the town. Wherever there were trees, they were either uprooted and fell, carrying with them in many cases walls, railings, and buildings, or their branches were snapped off like reeds and hurled away with the wind. Carriages and palkees were upset and strewn the roads, mingled with the *débris* of roofs, verandahs and gates, and fallen trees. Corrugated iron roofings were torn, doubled up, and blown away like sheets of paper. By two o'clock the eastern and southern suburbs of the city, and those parts of it to the westward which, from their proximity to the plain and the river, were the most exposed, were more or less a wreck. Except the cocoa-nut and other palms, scarcely a tree was anywhere to be found standing. The beautiful avenues in Fort William were entirely destroyed; the Eden Gardens turned into a wilderness; in Tank Square the trees and shrubs were blown away, and in many parts the iron railing torn up and overthrown. In Garden Reach the roads were blocked up and rendered impassable from the trees that fell across them. The splendid avenue of usoth (*Polyalthea longifolia*) trees in the compound of the school opposite St. James's Church, some of which must have been four or five feet in circumference, was entirely destroyed, the trees being snapped off above the level of the wall which protected them, but which is now no longer standing. The damage done to buildings was considerable. Among these, we notice that the roof of the Free School was blown away; the upper part of the Roman Catholic Church at the upper end of the Bow Bazaar Road entirely destroyed, and the steeple of the Free Church of Scotland; the minarets of the Mosque in Dhurrumtolah were all blown away; St. James's Theatre was unroofed and nearly destroyed; the roof of the cathedral is much damaged; the sheds of the East India Railway Company are unroofed, and Messrs. Thacker and Spinks' premises seriously damaged. Our own troubles we described yesterday. In fact, scarcely a pukka¹ house in Calcutta has escaped without

¹ Built of masonry, in contradistinction to mud, "wattle and dab" edifices.

injury, while the native huts, especially in the suburbs, were almost all blown down. The telegraph lines are interrupted in all directions. All these losses are sufficiently annoying and lamentable; but it is on the river that the storm has been attended by the most disastrous consequences. To give an accurate or connected account of the loss among the shipping is as yet impossible: all is confusion, and it is scarcely known what ships have been entirely lost, what are irretrievably damaged, and what are safe. The last are few indeed; perhaps not more than half a dozen are in a state to go to sea without extensive repairs. With few exceptions, the shipping were driven from their moorings and cast ashore, or jammed together on the opposite side of the river, while several were sunk in mid channel, and others stranded by the storm wave high up on the Calcutta shore."

It may easily be imagined that the crowded shipping in the river would be exposed to the utmost possible danger from the violence of such a tempest. But the raging winds were not the only antagonists that the shipping and the river population had to contend against. For the cyclone was accompanied by one of those terrible engines of destruction which a violent commotion of the elements not unfrequently produces in tropical hurricanes. Stretching from shore to shore, and as far as eight miles inland on either side, a mass or wall of water, by some accounts fifteen, by others thirty feet in height, rushed up from the mouth of the Hooghly, carrying devastation before it, sweeping over the strongest embankments, flooding the crops with salt water, annihilating entire villages, and involving men and cattle in one vortex of destruction.

As long as the shipping had to contend with the violence of the wind alone, the one hundred and ninety-five vessels that were moored or anchored within the limits of the port on the morning of the 5th rode it out without much damage; but when the storm wave added its expiring strength to the force of the wind—for happily it had worn itself out ere it quite reached Calcutta—one vessel after another drove from her moorings, and as each ship swept on she fouled others in her course, and the whole becoming massed together and utterly unmanageable were sunk or driven ashore. To the few spectators

who could manage to stand on the bank, and view the progress of destruction, there appeared to be an ever-shifting, ever-changing scene of havoc and ruin passing before their eyes. "As fast as vessels either entangled or clogged together, or singly, drifted by, others replaced them, some dragging their buoys, others, whose cables had parted and left them at the mercy of the elements, drifting to inevitable destruction. Cargo boats, and smaller craft in shoals, were hurried along, and every now and then a *boliyo*,¹ swamped, but not sunk, bobbed up and down like some great monster hunting for its prey. And when the force of destruction could no further go, the river was left in front of the spectator clear of shipping, where there had been before a perfect forest of masts and chimneys, and not a single small boat to be seen." One hundred and fifty-five vessels were driven on shore. The *Ally*, with a living freight of 335 coolies, was totally lost with all on board, save seven of the crew, and twenty-two emigrants. A tug-steamer, the *Alligator*, like the creature from which it derived its name, crawled into the jungle; the *Admiral Casey* was found in the middle of a rice field. The *Prince Albert* and the *Red Rose*, two railway steamers were transported out of their proper element into a neighbouring garden, and the *Earl of Clare* was landed, high and dry, up on the top of a heap of stone ballast in an adjacent yard. Out of the one hundred and ninety-five ships, thirty-nine were damaged slightly, ninety-seven severely, and thirty-six totally lost. By the 19th October, one hundred and one grounded vessels had been got off.

It is not easy to ascertain the loss of life caused by the storm and the accompanying inroad of the sea, for the banks towards the mouth of the Hooghly are inhabited by a floating population, whose numbers probably no living person could at any time reckon. Almost all those, of

¹ A passenger boat, propelled by some six or eight or more oars, with cabin, painted green.

course, who were within the limits embraced by the action of the storm wave were swept to destruction. In one district, Saugor Island, out of a population of six thousand souls known to be there before the storm, there was a remnant of one thousand four hundred and eighty-eight only left. To this list must be added those who were swept away with their boats, dingies, canoes, and rude craft of all kinds that swarm all down the river. Where data are so uncertain, it is almost fruitless to attempt to indicate the number of lives lost with nearer approximation than that they were certainly over five and probably not under twenty thousand.

Sir John Lawrence had spent the summer in the cool breezes of Simla, but early in the autumn went into camp, and marched to Lahore, where he held a large durbar. There are many features that rendered the occasion especially interesting. It was the locality where, just twenty years before, Sir John had taken the first step on the ladder by which he had reached his present eminence. The chiefs and sirdars of the Punjab beheld in the Viceroy the officer they had so long revered as Commissioner; and for the first time in the history of India, the Viceroy was to be heard addressing the assembled chiefs in their own language. They listened to him with marked attention, and doubtless, as the words fell from his lips, reflected that there was now one more link between them and the British Government, in that the representative of the Queen could at any rate speak their language and understand them. There was, perhaps, a good deal less dignity, but more sympathy and more individuality in Sir John Lawrence's address, than those of previous Viceroys. They had spoken, indeed, in noble language and well-turned sentences, but their addresses had to be rendered into Hindostanee, and were read in an inaudible voice by the secretaries of the Foreign Department. Speeches delivered on these occasions are usually mere matters of form, but Sir John Lawrence's address was more: it was

intended to convey, not the stereotyped expressions of empty compliment and good wishes, but sentiments and feelings he had himself at heart. As such it is worthy of record.

“Maharajas, Rajas, and Chiefs! Listen to my words. I have come among you after an absence of nearly six years, and thank you for the kindly welcome you have given me. It is with pleasure I meet so many of my old friends, while I mourn the loss of those who have passed away.

“Princes and Chiefs! It is with great satisfaction that I find nearly six hundred of you assembled around me in this durbar. I see before me the faces of many friends. I recognise the sons of my old allies, the Maharajas of Cashmere and Puttiala, the Sikh Chiefs of Malwah and the Manjha, the Rajpoot Chiefs of the hills, the Mahomedan Mullicks of Peshawur and Kohat, the Sirdars of the Derajat, of Hazara, and Delhi. All have gathered together to do honour to their old ruler.

“My friends! Let me tell you of the great interest which the illustrious Queen of England takes in all matters connected with the welfare and comfort and contentment of the people of India. Let me inform you, when I returned to my native country, and had the honour of standing in the presence of her Majesty, how kindly she asked after the welfare of her subjects in the East. Let me tell you, when that great Queen appointed me her Viceroy of India, how warmly she enjoined on me the duty of caring for your interest. Prince Albert, the Consort of her Majesty, the fame of whose greatness and goodness has spread through the whole world, was well acquainted with all connected with this country, and always evinced an ardent desire to see its people happy and flourishing.

“My friends! It is now more than eighteen years since I first saw Lahore. For thirteen years I lived in the Punjab. For many years my brother, Sir Henry Law-

rence, and I, governed this vast country. You all knew him well, and his memory will ever dwell in your hearts, as a ruler who was a real friend of its people. I may truly say, that from the day we exercised authority in the land we spared neither our time, nor our labour, nor our health, in endeavouring to accomplish the work which we had undertaken. We studied to make ourselves acquainted with the usages, the feelings, and the wants of every class and race, and we endeavoured to improve the condition of all. There are few parts of the province which I have not visited, and which I hope I did not leave in some degree the better for my visit. Since British rule was introduced, taxation of all kinds has been lightened, canals and roads have been constructed, and schools of learning have been established. From the highest to the lowest, the people have become contented, and have proved loyal. When the great military revolt of 1857 occurred, they aided their rulers most effectively in putting it down. The Chiefs mustered their contingents, which served faithfully, and thousands of Punjabee soldiers flocked to our standards, and shared with the British troops the glories as well as the hardships of that great struggle.

“Princes and Gentlemen! If it be wise for the rulers of a country to understand the language and appreciate the feelings of its people, it is as important that they should have a similar knowledge of their rulers. It is only by such means that the two classes can live happily together. To this end I urge you to instruct your sons, and even your daughters.

“Among the solid advantages which you have gained from English rule, I will now only advert to one more. It has given the country many excellent administrators. Some of the ablest and kindest of my countrymen have been employed in the Punjab. Every man, from the highest to the lowest, can appreciate a good ruler. You have such men as Sir Robert Montgomery, Mr. Donald Macleod, Mr. Roberts, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Colonel

Lake, and Colonel John Becher, officers who have devoted themselves to your service.

“I will now only add that I pray the great God, who is the God of all races, and all the people of this world, that He may guard and protect you, and teach you all to love justice and hate oppression, and enable you each in his several ways to do all the good in his power. May He give you all that is for your real benefit. So long as I live, I shall never forget the years that I have passed in the Punjab, and the friends that I have acquired throughout this province.”

CHAPTER IX.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The Central Provinces—Boundaries—Climate and inhabitants—Sir Richard Temple—Progress and present condition—Sir R. Temple resigns—His administration—The future of the Central Provinces.

THE Central Provinces may be roughly described as a portion of the table-land of Central India, lying between 18 and 25 degrees latitude, and 78 to 85 longitude. In form it is lozenge-shaped, the southern apex reaching far down in the Madras Presidency, about fifty miles from the sea-coast, where the Godavery empties itself into the Bay of Bengal; the eastern apex trenching in a similar manner on Bengal Proper, up to a point which would be intersected by a straight line drawn from Arrah, near Dinapore on the Ganges, to the Bay of Bengal. From the northern apex to the southern, the distance as the crow flies is between 450 and 500 miles, and from east to west the area covers a still larger extent of country. On the north-west face it is bounded by Bundelcund and the dominions of the Maharaja of Gwalior, on the north-west by Behar. The south-west and south-east faces look out upon the Nizam's dominions, and that part of the Madras Presidency lying between the mouths of the Godavery and the Mahanuddy. The upper portion of this large territory is destined to be the highway for traffic between the North-Western Provinces, including Oude and Bombay, for it is to be traversed by the railway at present constructed so far as to connect Allahabad with Jubbulpore, a distance of 228 miles, where it is to be

joined by the Great Indian Peninsular line from Bombay. In the north-west corner of this territory is the district of Saugor, with the capital city of that name, containing, with the adjacent military station, a population of about 50,000 souls. About a hundred miles due south of it is the sanitarium in the Puchmuree hills. Another stretch of about eight miles due south leads us to the city of Nagpore, with the adjacent cantonment of Seetabuldee. From Nagpore a line of railway passes through the rich cotton district of Berar down to Bombay. Although separated by long distances, and often by almost impassable tracts of jungle and forest land, the territory abounds in large and populous cities, the names of which are familiar to the general reader of Indian newspapers, books of travel, and statistics, such as Hoshungabad, Baitool, Kamptee, Chanda, Seroncha, Raepore, Bhundara, Jubbulpore, Saugor, Nagpore, and others. But perhaps the name which of all others will sound the most familiar to the English reader is the Godavery river, which for the latter part of its course to the sea-coast, about 160 miles, flows along the south-western face of the lozenge, forming on this side a boundary to the Central Provinces. A large river, called the Wyn Gunga, which rises in the heart of the Provinces, after a winding course of about a hundred miles, flows into the Godavery, just where that noble stream strikes the boundary towards the west, in its progress to the sea. The city of Seroncha lies at the confluence of the two rivers.

The temperature of these regions is considerably lower than that of India generally, the level portions being elevated table-land, and the mountain ranges large forests and broad rivers, all contributing to this result. It is peopled by various races of men, the aboriginal inhabitants far outnumbering the Hindoo and Mahommedan. Many of them are savages, but possess qualities which give promise of their eventually becoming, under the influence of civilization, a thriving agricultural population.

The study of the characteristics of these wild tribes, their language, habits, and mythology, is deeply interesting to the philologist and the ethnographer, while the remains of ancient buildings and temples—the scanty records of past ages—which are met with in so many parts of the Central Provinces, deeply imbedded in jungle and evidently of vast antiquity, may hereafter serve to throw some light upon an obscure page of Indian history. Rich in mineral resources, with an extremely fertile soil, except where uncleared forests and mountain ranges check cultivation, abounding with large rivers, and inhabited by a peaceable and docile population, this magnificent tract is capable hereafter of being developed into one of the most valuable subdivisions of the Indian empire. And it is fortunate that shortly after the different districts were first incorporated by Lord Canning into one chief commissionership, there was a man of Sir Richard Temple's calibre available for its charge. For a while, civilization and progress halted under the rule of a worn-out valetudinarian, Colonel Elliot; but upon his absence, in the first instance on furlough, and subsequently on his removal, Sir Richard (then Mr.) Temple was placed, at first temporarily, and afterwards permanently, in charge. In addition to great administrative talent, and that useful habit for one who is destined to be a ruler of men, the thirst for information, Sir Richard Temple is endowed with marvellous physical powers and capability for enduring fatigue. To mould into shape such an unwieldy mass, to introduce system and organization and good government into so vast a tract of country, covered for so many miles with pathless forests and unexplored mountain ranges, it was absolutely necessary for the Chief Commissioner to make a personal survey of his domains. This Sir Richard Temple accomplished (a feat from which most men might well shrink), travelling by foot and on horseback, and by boat, upwards of 4,000 miles—further, as Mr. Strachey observes, than if he had marched from Cape Comorin to

Cashmere and back again; visiting every place of importance, and making the personal acquaintance of every official under him, and of every native gentleman of note, and every chief. The result of this extended tour of inspection he has given in his Administrative Report for 1862-3. "During the past year," he says, "I have been able to complete the tour and circuit of all the districts in the Central Provinces, and to pass up and down the two great rivers, the Godavery and the Mahanuddy." Quitting Jubbulpore on the 26th April, 1862, Sir Richard Temple marched first to Mundla on the Nerbudda, a place of great antiquity, the neighbourhood of which is rich in the remains of temples and buildings of a very great age, now completely buried in jungle. Thence he turned southwards to Seonee and Nagpore. Starting from Nagpore in the height of the hot weather, in the month of May, he traversed the mountainous district of Chindwarra, at the foot of the Sautpoora range of mountains, a district rich in mineral resources, and containing valuable seams of coal. The plateau of the Mohtor mountain district, thirty-four miles from Chindwarra, is from 3,500 to 4,000 feet above the level of the sea. The neighbouring hills and valleys are clothed with low and thick underwood, but the plateau itself is open, and the climate during the winter and spring and early summer delightful, but liable to more or less malarious influence between July and November. The soil and water are everything that can be desired, the atmosphere cool and invigorating, and the sun not overpowering. The inhabitants of the district, the Gonds and Korkoos, are the descendants of the wild tribes who, whether aboriginal or not, inhabited the country before the Aryan immigration. In appearance they differ from the rest of the tribes, having broad flat noses and thick lips; but their language has never yet been scientifically studied. From Chindwarra, Sir Richard Temple travelled westwards to Baitool, then turning southwards to Berar, visited the great cotton-fields of Oomrawattee,

thence northwards by Bhundhara to the Nowagon lake, returning to Nagpore on the 12th June. On the 8th August, the indefatigable officer went down the Godavery and its affluents to Coconada, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, returning to Nagpore on the 10th September. In November following he travelled up the valley of the Nerbudda, and then struck across to Bundelcund. Again, in the following January, he made his way westwards to Sonepore, a place on the extreme boundary of the province, on the river Mahanuddy, where, embarking in a boat, he followed the stream a hundred and twenty miles to Cuttack, at which place he met the chief engineer of the East Indian Irrigation Company. From Cuttack, his way led through vast tracts of jungle to Sumbulpore, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles, and from thence across the Chutteesghur plateau to Nagpore, a distance of not less than three hundred and twenty miles in a straight line, visiting the different zemindaries on the way. He reached Nagpore on the 29th April, and again, on the 17th May, set out, and passing over the Puchmuree hills, traversed the Chundla and Seonee districts, returning to Nagpore on the 19th June, having in these successive tours visited every station and district, and meeting almost every native chief, and the majority of the landholders, throughout the country.

This brief sketch of Sir Richard Temple's travels contains too many unfamiliar names to render it of much interest to the general reader; but the outline may enable him to realize in some measure the amount of labour, exposure, and fatigue which that officer did not scruple to undergo in the course of his duty. Nor was travelling in such a country as this that luxurious pastime which the official tour of the Anglo-Indian commissioner is generally represented. Pathless jungles and forests, and uncertain tracts abounding with wild beasts, and yielding little in the shape of supplies beyond what the gun of the sportsman may be able to collect, had to be traversed on horse-

back and on foot. The heat of the sun, malaria, and jungle fever, had each in its turn to be encountered. And the journey to which Mr. Strachey compares it, from Cape Comorin to Cashmere and back, might be performed with a title of the labour and exposure unavoidable in such a country as this.

It is not to be wondered at that Sir Richard Temple's principal impression after concluding his tour should be one of vast distance and extent of area. He says: "It appears to me, that in these provinces the distinguishing characteristic and the standing difficulty consist in the extent of area, vast out of all proportion to its wealth and population, and in the great distances which consequently have to be traversed." As regards the exposure to the weather, he says:—

"The seasons in this part of India are not on the whole favourable to lengthened travelling. The autumn, owing to the prevalence of jungle fever, would be prejudicial to any one, even with the strongest constitution, who should venture to move about in the interior. Marching, therefore, cannot safely commence until the beginning of November. Then the winter is short, and the hot weather sets in by February; and lastly, the dry season does not last long, for the burst of the monsoon is to be expected by the end of May. Travelling, though difficult, is, however, practicable throughout June; and in some quarters, such as the Godavery country, if one disadvantage be balanced against another, the best time for travelling is in the midst of the rainy season. Those, therefore, who would see and know the Central Provinces in detail, must be prepared to face the scorching winds of the summer and the drenching rains of the monsoon. Nor is travelling facilitated by those appliances which now exist in the more advanced parts of India. Here as yet there is no railway, no steam communication, no horse-carriage transit over metalled roads.¹ The work must be generally done on horseback, save when the more precipitous hills have to be ascended on foot."

¹ Since Sir Richard Temple wrote this, the railway has been opened to Jubbulpore, and post horses put upon the road between Jubbulpore and Nagpore, so that the journey from Allahabad to Bombay can be performed with tolerable ease and comfort, and most travellers from Upper India prefer that route to England to the old route *via* Calcutta.

Sir Richard Temple then proceeds to show how necessary it is that the chief ruler of such a country should make himself acquainted with its different features, which can only be done by personal inspection. Points of interest and importance are not concentrated in particular quarters, the remainder of the country being blank: "Nature and circumstance, with a severe impartiality, have distributed the points of interest and importance over the whole length and breadth of the land. In one distant direction it will be the local political affairs that claim attention; in another, the land tenure; in another, the navigable rivers; in another, the arrangements for defence and protection; in another, the forests; and in another, the communication through the passes."¹

When the backward condition in which this territory was, when Mr. Temple took charge, is compared with what it is now, it almost appears as if the work of settlement and organization had been pushed on with something of super-human force. Enthusiasm and energy are the soul of a successful administration, for they are communicated from one official to another; and where the influence proceeds from the head of the Government, it permeates all the subordinate departments,—as the sap in a tree ascends to the furthestmost branches, carrying with it the elements of life and vigour. A few facts culled from the latest administration report now published, that for 1866-67,² will give the reader some idea of what has been accomplished under the impetus imparted by Mr. Temple's supervision. "Over almost the whole of these provinces the land settlements have been completed. All rights in the soil having been investigated, defined, and recorded, a moderate land-tax has been fixed for periods of twenty or thirty years. Every class interested in the land, the feudatories, the petty

¹ In the season of 1868, Sir Richard Temple rode out from Simla forty miles into the interior, and, without resting, ascended to the summit of a mountain 10,000 feet high, to sketch.

² Written in September 1868.

chiefs who own large estates, the ordinary landholders, the proprietors of holdings, and the occupiers of fields,—each one knows what his absolute and relative rights in the land are, and what are his obligations either toward the public treasury, or towards his feudal superior. So closely are the interests of the people and the State interwoven, that while all these matters have been arranged, it has been found feasible at the regular settlement to raise the Government land-tax from fifty-four to fifty-eight lacs of rupees. And while ownership in all the cultivated land, and even a large extent of waste land, has been recognised in private landholders, the rights of the State in unoccupied, waste lands have been asserted and defined. In this way some twenty thousand square miles of waste land have been marked off as State property.”

A similar improvement has been effected in the magisterial and police department. Many of the native gentry have received commissions as honorary magistrates, by whom one-fifth of the magisterial business of the country is performed with credit to themselves and satisfaction to the people.

It is a well-recognised principle of political economy that litigation increases in proportion as a country enjoys the blessings of peace, wealth, and prosperity. An uncivilized community, or a pauper population, have neither the wish nor the means to resort to a court of law for the arbitration of their disputes. It is only when the restless habits of a nomad people, or predatory hordes, yield to the influences of peace and civilization—when they settle down into organized communities, and engage in commerce and agriculture—that the conflicting interests awakened by the sustained efforts to amass property eventuate in those complications which can be solved only by a resort either to law or to physical force. In the rude condition in which the greater part of the Central Provinces were, when Mr. Temple took charge, the tendency among the people is to settle their disputes by the latter.

Men's quarrels must be arranged somehow ; and when a cheap and equitable administration of justice is within their reach, they will fight their battles out in court rather than on the village plain. The popularity of the Civil Courts in the Central Provinces may be measured by the fact that when Mr. Temple first assumed charge of the administration, there were on the average nineteen thousand suits registered annually, while during the year 1866-67 there were no less than forty-five thousand original suits instituted.

In hygiene and sanitation the progress has been most marked. In 1862 there were sixteen dispensaries ; there are now (1866-67) fifty-six of these institutions at which one hundred and fifty thousand patients are treated annually. A special agency has been organized for spreading vaccination, and tens of thousands of children are annually protected from small-pox ; while quarantine and other sanitary regulations have very materially diminished the ravages of epidemic cholera. The progress of educational effort is shown by the institution of fifteen hundred and seventy schools, where instruction is imparted to fifty-eight thousand scholars ; while Government aid has been extended to schools opened by missionary bodies and private benevolence. Altogether during the last year, fifty thousand pounds sterling were expended on education, of which a fourth was contributed by private individuals.

No one had more reason to appreciate the advantages of a good road than a traveller like Mr. Temple. In addition to the railway to Jubbulpore, which has been completed by the East Indian Railway Company, there were four hundred miles of made road metalled and bridged at the conclusion of the year under review, and a hundred and fifty more under construction, while the local committees at the different large towns were engaged in constructing feeder roads to the several railway stations. It would be tedious to enumerate ; but a large list might be given of churches, barracks, magazines, court-houses,

hospitals, rest-houses for travellers, museums, police stations, and wells, erected by Government and private liberality during this period of progress.

The forest department yields a revenue of forty lacs of rupees, while the increase of revenue from the salt tax, from 90,000*l.* to 180,000*l.* a year, without any increase of duty, is a sure sign of the growing prosperity of the poorer classes. The material progress of the country may be further measured by the fact that during the years 1866-67 the people of these provinces paid into the public treasury 1,210,000*l.*, compared with 820,000*l.* in 1862; that during the past year they voluntarily contributed about 35,000*l.* to charitable objects, to public and local improvements, and to industrial exhibitions, whereas in 1862 they scarcely gave a rupee towards anything of the kind; that during the last twelve months they exported to other provinces 4,340,000*l.* worth of produce and manufactures, as compared with 1,650,000*l.* worth in 1863, the earliest period for which there are statistics; and that they imported during the same time 4,642,000*l.* worth of foreign commodities, exclusive of bullion, as against 980,000*l.* worth in 1863.

In 1866 Sir Richard Temple resigned the post of Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces for the Residentship at Hyderabad, whence he was transferred to the Governor-General's Council in the place of the Hon. Mr. Massey, the first civilian appointed to the post which was originally designed especially for some financier straight from England. Sir Charles Trevelyan is no exception, for although formerly in the Civil Service, he had retired a long while before he came to India as Finance minister. Sir Richard Temple was succeeded by Mr. Morris, who drew up the report on the administration of the Central Provinces for 1866-67, already quoted. He speaks in the following terms of his predecessor, paying a noble and well-merited tribute to his genius and energy:—

“Whatever of progress has been noted in the foregoing paragraph, was secured during Mr. Temple's rule. No such progress had been

seen in this part of India before. Much of it may, nay must be, due to the action of natural, commercial, and social forces. But something, at any rate, may have been the result of good government, and must have been due to the personal exertions of Mr. Temple, to the system which he introduced, and to the body of officers which he trained.

"Perhaps among the many ways in which Mr. Temple benefited the Central Provinces, that service will not be reckoned the least important which he rendered by placing before the Supreme Government and the public full reports of the country, its people, its resources, its capabilities, and its trade. The thorough knowledge of the country gained in his many long and arduous journeys, performed at all seasons of the year, enabled him to report fully upon schemes for roads, for railways, for irrigation, for navigation, for mining enterprises, the full accomplishment of which will hardly be seen by the present generation."

Mr. Morris might safely have asserted not only that no such progress had been seen in that part of India, but that no such progress had been seen anywhere before. Instances are numerous where, under the influence of Anglo-Saxon energy, favoured by nature with a fertile soil and a good climate, and convenient harbour, a colony has sprung into existence and made more progress in the time than the Central Provinces had accomplished between 1861 and 1867. But here it was not Anglo-Saxon energy that Mr. Temple had to work with, but an Asiatic population in a backward stage of civilization, the major part, indeed, in absolute barbarism. The natural advantages of the territory were in his favour; without that he would have been powerless. But administrative genius shows itself best in a capacity to seize opportunities, to make the most of every advantage; and as the greatest triumphs of science are those in which she has subdued the forces of nature and taught them to subserve some useful purpose, so the greatest achievements of administrative ability have been evinced in exercising influence over the human will, and bending it to subserve the purposes of national progress and general prosperity. This achievement it was Sir Richard Temple's good fortune to accomplish; and a man who may be said to have raised by the force of his own

will and vigorous intellect a whole population from a condition of barbarism to that of a decent and well-ordered commercial and agricultural community, must be reckoned amongst the benefactors of mankind.

That a great future is before the Central Provinces must be apparent to anyone who will study the map of India. Consisting mostly of elevated plateaux of table-land, fertile beyond description; lying in the very heart of the Continent, with a climate that will be salubrious and tolerably temperate when the jungle has been cleared away and the country drained; within easy reach by rail of the western coast and the harbour of Bombay; watered by some of the largest rivers in the world, navigable even now for hundreds of miles, and capable by engineering efforts of being made navigable for as many more; with river communication extending on one side to the Bay of Bengal, and on the other to the Indian Ocean; intersected by the main arteries of traffic between Europe and Upper India; in a political and strategical point of view the safest part of the whole continent, because the furthest removed from the frontier, and in close communication with our resources; a table-land upon which, if the British army were driven from every other part of India by some great combination of European or Asiatic prowess, it would be placed in an impregnable position; itself a region as yet unsubdued by any former conqueror of Hindustan,—the Central Provinces bid fair to be hereafter the nucleus of British enterprise and the heart of British power in the East. Geographical and political considerations will eventually place the capital of British India at Jubbulpore or somewhere in its neighbourhood.

Thence, as from a central point within easy access of England, and within reach of every corner of the Indian continent, the Supreme Government will be able, when the network of railways now in course of construction is complete, to supervise and control with ease and efficiency the administration, even to the most distant limits of the Empire.

CHAPTER X.

1865.

The Bhotan embassy—Sir Herbert Edwardes—Indian estimate of public men—Sir Charles Trevelyan—Budget for 1865-66—Speculation mania in Bombay—Value of land in Bombay—Time bargains—Mr. Justice Anstey—General crash—Sanitary condition of Bombay and Calcutta—Port Canning—Madras—Assassination at Peshawur—Fanaticism—Insecurity of European life—The Mhow death march—Roorkee College—Sir Bartle Frere's address to the Mahratta Sirdars.

THE second year of Sir John Lawrence's administration opened with favourable auspices. A series of petty failures and disappointments in Bhotan reiterated the oft-repeated warning against embroiling ourselves with barbarous neighbours, difficult of access and unmanageable either by the arts of peace or war when reached. But the mischief had been done before Sir John came out, and in no way can he be held responsible. Towards the end of the year, when the circumstances more fully detailed in another chapter became publicly known, an unseemly recrimination took place between the officials whose credit were at stake, or their partisans, and some serious accusations of giving to the public garbled despatches and official documents, with the view of misleading them as to the real source of failure and disgrace, were not satisfactorily answered. It is easy to be wise after the event, but there can be little doubt that the envoy, the Hon. Ashley Eden, was most anxious to proceed to the capital, in spite of the repeated hints that he was not wanted there, and in face of

the obstacles put in his way. To have abandoned the enterprise would have perhaps laid him open to the charge of timidity or want of zeal, but real diplomatic genius evinces itself in the avoidance of political dilemmas, as much as courage and presence of mind in escaping from them when caught in their toils.

In the early part of the year India was deprived of the genius and ability of one of the most eminent of that school of soldier-statesmen who in the past official generation had done such good service to the country. Sir Herbert Edwardes' last public act of importance was the trial of the Wahabee conspirators. He had filled successively the post of Commissioner of Peshawur and Umballa, and, if the public voice could have controlled the selection, would have been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, upon Sir Robert Montgomery's retirement. His brilliant services are too well known to need recapitulation, and India could ill afford to lose the experience, the personal influence, the undaunted courage, the presence of mind combined with the power of action in great emergencies, of the man who held the helm in the Peshawur district during the rebellion.

It is too much the custom in England to ignore the existence in India of anything in the shape of public opinion. Public opinion, indeed, there is not in the same sense as it exists in England, for there is no House of Commons as the ultimate court of appeal, without which the press would be powerless. The press in India is consequently dependent on the extent to which it can influence Government by sound argument or cogent reasoning. But the public opinion of India, such as it is, ought not to be totally ignored. The major part of it emanates from the official classes, and is the experience of the thoughts and views of members of the different branches of the public services, who, through the medium of the press, make known sentiments and opinions for which the regular official channels of communication with

the Government afford no vent. In such matters as the selection of governors and appointments of men to high offices in the State, the expression of opinion in India, especially when unanimous or nearly so, might with advantage be consulted in the selection of candidates, of whose abilities the Indian public (including the official world) is in a much better position to judge, and will judge, more accurately than the English.

The merits of the policy Sir Charles Trevelyan adopted in his last budget for 1865-66 will be discussed under the chapter on Finance. The history and fate of that budget may be related here. Sir Charles Trevelyan's determined opposition to his *bête noir*, the Income-tax, has a melodramatic air about it which may reconcile the general reader to a subject usually so repulsive as a budget. Recalled from Madras because he condemned the Income-tax, and sent out again as Finance minister because Sir Chas. Wood saw he was right in condemning the Income-tax, though wrong in the way he did it; forced during his three years of office to permit the existence of the impost, he was determined not to quit India and leave his foe behind him. But there was a deficit, and how should that be met and the Income-tax nevertheless demolished? He proposed a loan for public works for 1,200,000*l.*, and an increase on the export duties. The proposition was received in Council with disfavour. Sir John Lawrence had the power, but declined the responsibility, of rejecting the budget altogether. Outside the Council chamber the resolution was received with dismay. Export and import duties touched the pockets of the class who were quite powerful enough to be feared by a Secretary of State; the Liverpool and Manchester merchants re-echoed the cry uttered from Calcutta and Bombay, and the budget was returned "disapproved." Sir Charles Wood preferred a deficit to an equilibrium produced by a loan and a tax on raw produce. Meantime, Sir Charles Trevelyan had left the field to his enemies, having had the grim satisfac-

tion before he went of laying up the Income-tax, as he expressed it, "a potent but imperfect fiscal machine upon the shelf, complete in all its gear, ready to be re-imposed in case of any new emergency." Sir Charles Trevelyan was right in his determined opposition to the impost. It has lain where he placed it in all its gear, but no succeeding minister has cared to use it, though it has been several times taken down, turned over, and then put back again.¹

Another public man, who during his tenure of office had left an ineffaceable mark of his genius upon the department of the administration allotted to him, left India this year. After being feasted and toasted at a public dinner in Calcutta, the place where three short years before he had been at the very height of unpopularity, Sir Hugh Rose made over the command of the army in India to Sir William Mansfield, and sailed for England in March. The same year which saw Sir William Mansfield removed from Bombay to the head of the army, and Sir R. Napier installed in his place, witnessed also the retirement of another distinguished officer, Sir Hope Grant, from the Commander-in-chiefship of Madras, and the advent of Sir Gaspar Le Marchant in his room.

The spirit of wild speculation which had in the last two years infected, more or less, all classes of the community, this year reached a climax, and was followed by the inevitable reaction. The growing traffic of Bombay and the impetus given to the import trade by the opening of the railways had increased enormously the value of land in the island. The population, on such respectable authorities as McCulloch and Martin, was in 1861 at the surprisingly low figure of a little upwards of half a million. But this half-million of souls were confined within the narrow limits of an island of an oblong shape, eight miles

¹ Since this was written, Sir R. Temple has re-introduced this tax in a modified form.

in length from north to south, and between two and three miles wide. In such a position it is obvious that any land reclaimed from the sea would become of the utmost possible value; and during the time of the unexampled prosperity which the Western Presidency enjoyed from 1861 to 1865, reclamation schemes were in high favour. The present year 1865 was a period of wild speculative excitement in Bombay. Enormous fortunes had been realized in the cotton trade, and capitalists were longing for investments. House accommodation, at best of times very dear and most scanty in proportion to the requirements of the European and the heads of the native community, rose to a fabulous rent. A writer in the *Times of India* stated that there were at that time (April and May) twenty or thirty English gentlemen residing in Bombay houseless. A well-known official had given up his house because the owner raised the rent to 300 rupees (30*l.*) a month, refusing to pay so large a sum. The owner immediately afterwards declined an offer of 750 rupees, and would not take less than 1,000 rupees a month. A mercantile house paid 107,500*l.* for offices which in Calcutta would not have fetched 20,000*l.*; and another rented a ground-floor warehouse at 2,400*l.* a year. Shares in the Colaba Land Company rose from 10,000 rupees at par to 1 lac and 20,000, or twelve times the par value. Back Bay shares went up from 2,000 rupees to 54,000. Equally great was the rise in Press property. Shares in the Elphinstone Press Company went up from 40,000 to 1 lac and 35,000 rupees; and the Apollo Press Company from 12,000 to upwards of 20,000. It was in the height of this speculating mania that the Bank of Bombay, one of whose directors was the famous Premchund Roychund, at one time possessed of almost countless wealth, commenced the course of action which eventuated in the crash of 1868. A clause in its charter empowered it to make advances on the security of shares, and it did so, among others, to the Back Bay Company,

reckoning its shares at the then fictitious value of 25,000 rupees.

But if this speculation, wild as it was, had been conducted on anything like sound commercial principles, the consequences would not have been anything like so serious as they were. But the wealth which rested on the caprice of the share-market was imaginary. Shares, it is true, were bought and sold at fabulous prices, but the greater part of these transactions were what is called time bargains; that is to say, the purchaser bought shares and promised to pay at a long future date, trusting in the meantime to realize the amount due by a profit on a further rise in prices. He sold again immediately at a large premium on the same terms, and the person who bought from him sold again to a fourth party under similar conditions. It was during the prevalence of this gambling mania that Mr. Chisholm Anstey, formerly of the Hong Kong and more recently of the Bombay bar, was raised to fill a temporary vacancy in the bench of the High Court. It may well be supposed that these time-bargains were not likely to be very favourably viewed in a court of law; and Mr. Justice Anstey—who combined with great eccentricity of manner much determination of character, and an unusually vehement habit of expression—struck terror into the hearts of insolvents who had dabbled in questionable transactions. An Augæan stable required a Hercules to clean it, and a Hercules was found. In one of the first cases that came before him where the time-bargains formed the subject of the suit, the indignant judge, in dismissing the case with costs, remarked that, "According to the custom of these miserable gamblers, of whom the native community of all races, except the Moslem, appeared to be full, they made a double venture; first of all a venture in the way of purchase, and then again in the way of resale, without any intention to give delivery or to take delivery, but merely to settle the differences in both."

Most English readers are familiar with the name of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeeboy, the millionaire Parsee baronet, who raised himself from a vendor of old bottles to be one of the wealthiest men in the world. In the crash of falling firms and wide-spread insolvency that swept like a cyclone over Bombay in the latter part of 1865, the nephew of the wealthy baronet had to seek the protection of the Insolvent Court. His assets were $13\frac{1}{2}$ lacs as represented, and his debts 55 lacs, or 550,000*l*. Mr. Justice Anstey sent him to jail for two years for fraud, but somewhat weakened the effect of his remarks in sentencing him, by offensive allusions to his uncle's origin. "A man," he said, "who is originally a dealer in old bottles, gambles till he has contracted debts to the amount of 55 lacs."

The speculating mania in Bombay at this time almost amounted to a moral epidemic, like the dancing and other epidemics of the Middle Ages, with which Hecker's interesting pages have made us familiar. It was succeeded by the inevitable reaction. Failure followed failure, confidence was gone, and amid the general dismay, when no one dared trust his neighbour, the day fixed for the settlement of the time-bargains, the 1st July, approached. It usually happens that the apprehensions of impending calamity are worse than the reality. The state of commercial affairs could hardly have been worse than it was before the 1st July. The climax of the crisis on that day and the succeeding Monday, the 3d, was less disastrous than had been expected, perhaps because, where so many had failed to meet engagements, the means or the will to force the consequence of failures on the defaulters may have been wanting. No more striking and sad illustration of the consequences of a gambling, speculative mania is to be found than the fact of a once thriving and prosperous commercial community urging the Legislature by a memorial to amend the Insolvent Act, so as to simplify and accelerate its process, "with all the haste the constitution of the country will admit."

Much light will probably be thrown upon the commercial history of Bombay at this juncture by the publication of the report of the commission of inquiry into the affairs of the Bombay Bank. While that inquiry is incomplete, it will be dangerous to hazard, and unjust to express, an opinion on the conduct of the Bombay Government. From what is before the public now, there was unquestionably a want of firmness and of caution, and an inability to foresee the extent of the danger that surrounded them. As has been mentioned in another place, Sir William Mansfield, one of the members of that Government, does not hesitate to plead on his own behalf and that of his colleagues the dangerous doctrine that it was too much to have expected the Government to resist the tide of public feeling. And when the condition of the Bank had become known, though not perhaps to its full extent, there was a backwardness on the part of the subordinate in affording the Supreme Government all the information it wanted. Nothing, however, has been urged in extenuation of the reckless imprudence which caused the ruin of the Bank.

Towards the end of September a slight reaction from the state of deep depression in which the market had fallen took place in consequence of a sudden rise in the price of cotton, owing to the discovery that the supposed resources in America had failed to realize what was expected. But the system had been too much shattered and disorganized by the late attack of the epidemic for any healthy reaction to ensue so soon after the crisis of the disease, and the speculation that followed partook of the same wild character that had distinguished the era of time-bargains. It was followed by a crisis in the money-market at the close of the year, when the Supreme Government, acting upon urgent requisition for aid transmitted by telegraph to Calcutta, sent round 60 lacs (600,000*l.*) in silver, while about 30 lacs more were supplied by private firms. Two steamers were engaged to convey this large

amount of specie, and thus poured into Bombay upwards of a million sterling within a fortnight.

The European reader is familiar with the contrast Oriental cities so often afford, between enormous wealth side by side with abject poverty, squalor, and wretchedness. In spite of the scarcity of money in the exhausted treasury of the Government and the Bank of Bombay, it is allowed on all hands that the city contained enormous wealth. Some of the most munificent gifts for charitable institutions that modern times can boast have been made by wealthy merchants of Bombay. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeeboy, the bottle-seller, and David Sassoon and others, have enriched their native city, and immortalized their names by their princely donations to hospitals, and other endowments, to relieve the wants and mitigate the sufferings of humanity.¹ Yet a city whose merchants might, even in the hour of depression, after a period of unwonted excitement, have paved their streets with silver, could call forth the following remarks of the Municipal Commissioner in 1861 :—"Go into the native town," says Mr. Crauford, "and around you will see on all sides filth immeasurable and indescribable, and at places almost unfathomable ; filthy animals, filthy habits, filthy streets, and with filthy court-yards round the houses of the rich, and masses of filth around the dwellings of the poor, foul and loathsome trades, crowded houses, foul markets, foul meat and food, foul wells and tanks and swamps, foul smells at every turn, unventilated drains, and sewers choked with animal and human ordure, and the garbage of an Oriental city. Men, women, and children, the rich and the poor, living with animals of all kinds and vermin ; seeing all this, smelling and inhaling the tainted, deadly atmosphere, and dying by the thousand. And this," he adds, "is Bombay, as it will be ere long, the focus of the trade of India, fed by thousands of miles of railway, its population doubled, overflowing the island, daily—nay

¹ Mr. Premchund Roychund, at the height of the epidemic, gave £20,000 to the Bombay University.

hourly—adding to the horrors faintly depicted here.” Much has been done since that was written, although much remains to do. But the visitor to the capital of the Western Presidency cannot fail to be struck with the contrast between the external appearance of Bombay and the natural beauties of the place, as he sees them, and the handiwork of its inhabitants, as described by the Municipal Commissioner.

The harbour, one of the finest in the world, is formed by a crescent-shaped group of islands, of which Salsette (connected by a causeway), Elephanta, and Colaba are the most familiar to English readers. The rays of a tropical sun are tempered by a delicious breeze; innumerable boats glide here and there on errands of business or pleasure; stately ships ride securely at anchor in the offing; picturesque islets rise abruptly from the ocean, clad from the summit to the very edge with the richest tropical verdure; and the branches of the trees hang so close over the water that they seem to coquet with the rippling waves as they toss themselves in wanton sport upon the pebbly shore. Such a scene, under the clear blue Indian sky and bright sunshine, as it meets the eye of the exile who enters India by its western gate, is well calculated to impress him favourably with the land of his adoption. Nor would he be undeceived as long as he remained content with a superficial view of the place. A nearer acquaintance might reveal enough to justify the strictures of Mr. Crauford and the denunciations of Mr. Justice Anstey.

Three years of persevering energy in working out sanitary reforms have, however, done wonders. A writer in the *Friend of India*, in April 1868, thus eulogizes the results of Mr. Crauford's efforts:—"In three years, assisted by a good health-officer, he has wrought a marvellous revolution. Except in a few obscure lanes, the city is almost devoid of bad odours. Its area is nearly thrice that of municipal Calcutta, yet every street and house, and

every road is daily swept as well as watered, and the dust is carefully removed. Its natural effect has been seen not merely in the comfort of all classes of the inhabitants, but in the fact that cholera, which used to be endemic in the city, as it is in Calcutta, has not been known for some time."

But Calcutta felt the effect of the speculative mania, though not to the same extent as the sister Presidency. Situated a hundred miles from the sea, with which it is connected by an awkward river, most difficult of navigation, the capital of British India enjoys a trade unsurpassed by that of any commercial city in the Eastern hemisphere. The noble river—for at Calcutta the Hooghly is well worthy of the name—is crowded with a forest of masts, the vessels all lying comparatively close together, so as to present a much more imposing appearance than double the number of vessels at anchor in a spacious harbour like Bombay.

Ill adapted for commerce, the Hooghly affords the best defence a maritime capital could have. It is only by the assistance of trained pilots, who have to spend their lives from early boyhood in mastering the difficulties of Hooghly navigation, learning the intricacies of the channels, and watching the ever-shifting shoals and sand-banks of the capricious river, that any ship of large burden can reach the port. Were the landmarks, and the lights, and the buoys to be removed, no human skill or caution could steer a vessel through the narrow winding channels of which the unpractised eye can perceive no trace. The experiment would be attended with certain destruction to any ship that attempted it. Even with all the precaution that a careful supervision, constant watching, and a large establishment can secure, accidents frequently occur; and a ship that has reached the Bay of Bengal from Calcutta in safety, may sail round the world and return again without encountering any danger in navigation so dangerous and difficult as the voyage down the Hooghly. For a long while it was believed that the channels of the Hooghly, intricate as they are, were annually becoming more diffi-

cult in navigation by the silting of the bed of the river. Whether this be so or no, there can be but one opinion as to the advantage of a seaport within easy distance of the Bay, and connected with Calcutta by rail. The delta of the Ganges, which is almost double the size of that of the Nile, begins to be formed about two hundred miles from the sea. It consists of a vast alluvial level covered with vegetation, and intersected with a network of innumerable streams and channels, each connected with the other, and appearing to the eye a vast maritime labyrinth of natural canals. The delta is about two hundred miles in breadth, and is bounded by two principal arms or bifurcations of the main stream, the easternmost of which preserves the name of the Ganges, or the Bhagirathi ; the westernmost branch flowing by Calcutta, is called the Hooghly. At one of the numerous outlets by which the waters of the holy river find their way to the sea, a site has been fixed upon for a harbour, and called Port Canning. The choice of the site, and the scheme altogether, is due to Lord Dalhousie, although the locality now goes by the name of his successor. A railway was sanctioned under the usual system of Indian railways, by guarantee : but for years the scheme hung fire ; the Government expecting that the commercial community would carry out a measure in which it was so much interested, the community looking to Government to complete what they had begun. Matters were in this unsatisfactory state when an enterprising merchant of Calcutta, Mr. Schiller, took them in hand, and got up the "Port Canning Reclamation and Dock Company," with the object of securing valuable landed property in the new port and town of Canning and its immediate vicinity, building upon it, constructing docks, wharves, &c. &c. The capital was 1,200,000*l.* in shares at 200*l.* each. The company had not been started long before the 2,000 rupee shares went up to 12,000. But though the railway company runs its trains daily between Calcutta and the port, the trains go and come empty, except when

some traveller is tempted by curiosity to visit the silent city ; or some English gentleman from Calcutta, in search of change of air, takes his belongings with him to enjoy the sea-breeze on the Mutlah. There may be seen the strange spectacle of a city without an inhabitant ; extensive wharves and docks without a ship, warehouses unoccupied, and not a human being visible upon the quays. It has been said that the Mutlah port does not possess the advantages it was supposed to enjoy when Lord Dalhousie fixed upon the site as the future harbour of one of the richest countries in the world. It is about forty miles from the sea, but the navigation is much less dangerous and difficult than that of the Hooghly, and it is not easy to see any reason stronger than the caprice of fashion, or the objection of sailors to a dull harbour, for the original scheme not being carried out in its entirety. It was thought that the great cyclone of 1864 would prove an illustration of the adage that it is an ill wind that blows no good, and that when the disadvantages of a confined space like the Hooghly for the Calcutta harbour were so fully and so fatally evinced, vessels would eagerly embrace the opportunity afforded by the Mutlah of securing a safer harbour. Unfortunately at the time it was not quite ready, and as these heavy cyclones generally come at an interval of twenty years, the usual mode of reasoning was resorted to ; and the merchants argued, the next cyclone would not come in their time, and after that, if a deluge swept over the place, they would be unaffected by it. After passing through the furnace of hot speculation, the Port Canning Company has recently been cooling itself in the law courts, owing to disputes among the directors and shareholders, which are now, however, terminated. Its ultimate fate it is impossible to foretell, but the final abandonment of the magnificent project of its enterprising founder would be almost a national misfortune.¹

¹ The whole history of the Port Canning scheme has recently been collected and published by Government with the view of encouraging

Two other grand schemes divided the attention of the Calcutta speculators at the same time: one was a Reclamation and Irrigation Company, to reclaim a vast salt

public discussion on the question, and with the forlorn hope that some light may be thrown upon the present dilemma.

It is a strange story, a chapter of mistakes from beginning to end. The panic about the gradual deterioration of the navigation of the Hooghly in 1853, the *fons et origo mali*, was a mistake. But that great statesman, Lord Dalhousie, shared in it, and directed the purchase, at a cost of 11,000 rupees, of the lot of ground on which the existing skeleton of the township was erected, and ordered a survey of the Mutlah estuary, and of the country between it and Calcutta, with a view to the construction of a railway. Major Baker reported favourably of the country for railway works, and Lieut. Ward of the estuary. "There was nothing," he said, "to prevent vessels of the largest tonnage from proceeding up and down the river at all times."

The Government lay the blame of the first movement in the matter on the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, which first raised the alarm of the closing of the river. Within the following two years they had altered their decision, for when the Committee on the Hooghly made their report, it was rather in favour of adopting measures to improve the Hooghly than to carry on the Mutlah scheme. The experience of the thirteen years that have since elapsed has confirmed the impression of the Chamber of Commerce in 1855, and it is the opinion of many competent judges that the navigation of the river, so far from deteriorating year by year, is, if anything, improving.

Meantime, as if nothing could be done right in this business, Government made the discovery that the vendor from whom they had purchased the lot had previously alienated all really beneficiary rights: in short, what he sold he had no right to sell. No explanation is afforded as to how the Government, with their staff of solicitors and Advocate-General, could have made such a blunder; for the expression in the *Gazette*, "that the purchase was a hasty one, and made secretly without the usual forms," only raises a question without answering it.

On the 14th December in the year 1855—a great day in the history of Port Canning—a ship actually made its appearance in Mutlah! This notable event cost the Government, however, 15,000 rupees, which sum was sanctioned for "buoying off the estuary."

On the 12th March a committee of Government officers and "a party of merchants," says the *Gazette*, proceeded to inspect the site of the proposed port and the estuary. "The report of the merchants" and of the committee were alike *coulour de rose*, the committee quoting with something like incredulous scorn a remarkable prophecy of Mr. Piddington, as follows:—

marsh in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, irrigate it, and utilize the sewage of the city upon an area of 130 square miles, capital 600,000*l.*; and the other was a project to

“Supposing the head of the Mutlah were to be fixed upon as a mercantile and naval depôt, everything and everyone must be prepared to see a day when in the midst of the horrors of a hurricane they will find a terrific mass of salt water rolling in or rising upon them with such rapidity that in a few minutes the whole settlement will be inundated to a depth of from five to eighteen feet.”

This is precisely what did occur on the occasion of the last cyclone in November 1867.

It will not be necessary to detail the different measures proposed, some to be rejected, others to be carried out up to 1857, during which year the site of the projected town and its vicinity was cleared of jungle, and arrangements made to reclaim 667 acres of land in the immediate neighbourhood. Up to 1858 only thirteen vessels had taken advantage of the port, and the consignees of these ships experienced so much difficulty in disposing of their cargoes that for at least four years not another ship entered the port!

The projectors, however, were not discouraged, and an association called the Mutlah Association was founded in 1858 to further the scheme, which at this stage enjoyed the support of the then Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Halliday.

About this time the railway project was started, but Lord Canning and the members of his Government threw cold water on it. The association, however, returned again and again to the charge; and having the support of Mr. Halliday and influential people at work on their behalf in London, the Secretary of State on the 12th November, 1858, authorized a guarantee of five per cent. on £280,000, the *then* estimated cost. When it was found the expenses came to £500,000 instead of £280,000, the Government could not very well help themselves, and having once put their neck into the collar of a guarantee, were obliged to keep it there, and to extend the security to the half-million. The line was opened in 1863, and has never paid its expenses. This year (1867) the company have made it over to the Government.

The next important step was the creation of a municipality under sanction of Mr. Beadon's government, and the transfer to this body, in trust for the town of Canning, of certain lots of land, on which it endeavoured unsuccessfully to raise a debenture loan of 10 lacs at 5½ per cent.

In March 1864, the municipality sent in an estimate to Mr. Beadon of 21 lacs, which were required for various improvements, drainage, roads, &c., and Mr. Beadon so far met their views as to ask for a loan of 4½ lacs to complete improvements of the most urgent kind. Sir C. Trevelyan

reclaim and bring under cultivation the area of the Sunderbuns, the alluvial tract before described between the mouths of the Ganges. Neither of these schemes resulted in anything beyond wild speculation in shares.

The usual placid atmosphere of Madras remained unstoutly opposed the measure, but Sir John Lawrence addressed the Secretary of State with a view to obtaining a sanction of a loan of 4½ lacs, on condition that the municipality raised 15½ lacs for themselves.

After a little pressure had been put on Government by the Chamber of Commerce and some Calcutta firms to go on with the scheme without effect, Mr. Schiller came forward with his "Port Canning Land Investment Reclamation and Dock Company (Limited)," in the height of the speculative mania of 1864. Upon the strength of 60 lacs of rupees raised by this company, the municipality claimed the loan of 4½ lacs conditionally promised, and it was granted.

Hitherto, so far as being resorted to by vessels, the Port Canning scheme has proved a failure. There is nothing particularly against the port, the navigation of the Mutlah is good, and although the place is not very healthy, it is clear that as long as the navigation of the Hooghly does not deteriorate, ships will not go to Mutlah. Meantime the municipality has spent much money upon the drainage of the place and upon the construction of metalled roads. The jungle has been cleared, and the land more or less cultivated. The Port Canning Company has erected a spacious hotel, and costly rice mills and one or two other buildings. They have nearly completed the excavation of a boat dock, and have done a good deal for the protection of the fore-shore, and have erected some jetties. The Government and the railway company have also erected some buildings.

After giving a history of the whole affair, and describing its present condition, the Commissioner who compiled this report proceeds to call upon Government to determine what to do next, whether to abandon it altogether or to complete it altogether, or to temporize, that is to say, leave it as it is, withdrawing all establishments, and just keeping the place from falling to actual ruin, and let everything remain *in statu quo* till the Hooghly becomes unnavigable, when ships will be only too glad to resort to the new port. On the other hand, if completed, all efforts should be made to carry out the original design. The port should be declared a free port for the next five years, and to set things going, all Government marine establishments should be moved and located there at once. This would cost about 20 lacs.

Another proposition is that made by Mr. Schiller, for the Government to guarantee the interest on £2,000,000 sterling, to be raised by a company to buy up the Sunderbuns, the railway, and the present Port Canning Company.

disturbed by the whirlwind which passed over the share markets of Calcutta and Bombay, and only lent itself to one scheme of utility and importance if it had been but sound—an Irrigation and Canal Company with the magnificent project of carrying water over 400,000 acres, and affording 300 miles of uninterrupted navigation. Unlike the other schemes and projects in Calcutta and Bombay, the Government sanctioned a guarantee of five per cent. upon a capital of 1,000,000*l.* to the Madras Company. Sir William Denison, whose project of supplying agricultural machinery for the use of the natives has been before noticed, had in the meantime become convinced that the introduction of improved agricultural implements would be premature till the people were willing and instructed how to use them, but he adopted and endorsed the views of Sir Charles Trevelyan, who in his rejected budget had advocated the policy of constructing permanent public works by means of loans.

But few political events of importance took place this year. In Upper India, at Peshawur, two valuable lives were sacrificed to the fury of Mussulman fanatics. Major Adam, the Deputy-Commissioner of Peshawur, was suddenly attacked and cut down at the gate of the city, and Lieutenant Ommaney, of the Guide Corps, was shortly after stabbed. Determined to make an example which should crush the growing spirit of assassination, Mr. Macnabb, who had taken Major Adam's place, rode out to the locality where the murderer of Lieutenant Ommaney had been apprehended on the scene of his crime, had him hanged, and his body burnt on the spot, a proceeding which was subsequently fully confirmed by Government.

A wild, fanatical Mussulman, from the regions about Peshawur, has little enough to all appearance to make life dear to him. With neither kith nor kin that he cares about, neither wife nor child, no property, no habitation, no friends, very little clothing, and scanty food, an ex-

change from this world to the next must be a clear gain. A firm belief in the promises of the Koran and the dogmas of his bigoted moollas, or religious instructors, a fertile imagination, a strong will, and physical daring, are elements of savage enthusiasm well calculated to arouse the excitable temperament of the Affghan, and the state of mind thus produced may very often be intensified by a tendency to hereditary insanity. When a mind thus constituted and prepared for crime becomes impressed with the idea that to compass the death of one of the hated English unbelievers is to secure instant admission into the Mahommedan paradise; when a condition of abject poverty will be changed at once to inconceivable bliss—a bliss in which the possession of many wives and plenty of camels, with abundance of good food, are principal ingredients;—when a man of the nature above described, takes home the idea to his heart, dwells upon it, and cherishes it, there is nothing to be wondered at that it develops into action. English officials are to a fault careless about their personal safety. Any man who intends treachery can easily gain access to almost any officer of any rank in India. Their doors are open all day, and generally all night. Some few sleep with loaded revolvers by their side, or under their pillows, but they are exceptions. In the morning and evening rides they are unaccompanied by any escort, and without any weapon of defence. Almost at any hour of the day or night, the hand of the assassin might be directed, with unerring aim, against the life of almost any officer in India. The marvel is, not that assassinations occur, but that they are not much more frequent; especially in and about a country like Peshawur, where there are hundreds of fanatics for whom death has really no terror.

But as in the early part of the century it was found that the capital punishment of criminals had no effect in suppressing Italian brigandage, until the practice was adopted of executing them without allowing the access

of a priest, so the only hope of checking the practice of assassination among the wild fanatics of the Peshawur valley was to adopt some penalty which should affect the state of the criminal in the other world besides dismissing him from this. Accordingly the plan of burning the bodies of assassins was tried, first in the case of the murderer of that distinguished officer Colonel Mackeson; the Commissioner of Peshawur, in 1853. Colonel Mackeson had been stabbed through the lungs and chest while sitting in his verandah reading some official papers. The long, sharp, Affghan knife, a murderous-looking weapon, is pretty sure to deal a mortal blow when struck home with a vigorous hand. The assassin was seized; but utterly regardless of his fate he awaited death with the utmost composure, while his victim lingered for a week enduring the most frightful agonies, from which death at last released him. The murderer was condemned to be hanged; but hanging was to him a comparatively pleasant death—an almost painless entrance into Paradise, the reward in store for the martyr who had compassed the death of the representative of the British Government. That loss was deeply felt, for he was an intrepid officer, much dreaded by the wild Affghan tribes, and with a more extended experience of the frontier than any man then living. But what if, after all, Paradise was not to be attained by this deed of treachery? What if the unbelievers, fertile in resources, could devise a scheme to shut the gates of Heaven against the assassin? The authorities were advised to strike terror and dismay into the hearts of the thousands of Mahommedans who, it was known, sympathised deeply with the murderer. It was to be effected by burning the body after execution, which, according to Mussulman superstition, would shut the gate of Paradise on the criminal. It was done, and with the most salutary results. Simple death by hanging had no terrors for these men, but followed by cremation it had, and ever since the practice has been retained.

A more terrible tragedy occurred in the Western Presidency, owing to the indifference of the senior military authorities, and their habit of sacrificing everything to red tape. It had been resolved to break up a European battery at Mhow, and transfer the men; but the necessary orders could not be issued till the hot weather had set in. There was no pressing necessity at all for the battery to march. It had been in existence for a hundred and four years; and as the season was advanced, and the route would necessarily lie along a road flanked by impenetrable jungle, a hotbed of disease, as it was known that cholera was raging in the villages by which the detachment would have to pass, the departure might have been delayed for nine months or so, till the weather was more favourable for marching. But no! under the burning sun, exposed to the fiery heat of the hot winds, and through this death-bearing country, the hapless band of men, women, and children were ordered to proceed! It was a cruel and wanton sacrifice of human life. Paralysed by the severity of the attack, nineteen corpses of men, women, and children having accumulated in that little camp in a few hours, the officer commanding halted, hesitated, and then returned whence he had started, carrying with his camp the seeds of the disease, in the shape of sick and dying, and leaving the dead behind him in the jungle. The "Mhow death march" would have escaped notice had it not been brought to light by the press; as it was, the authorities were forced to inquire into it, and the officer commanding the division, General Green, was reprimanded and removed. It may be difficult, as in the case of the tragedy at Meean Meer, to fix with certainty on the department or the officer to blame; but here, as there, no doubt can be entertained that, if the Quartermaster-General's department had done its duty, a second tragedy might have been averted.

During the year the examples of the Lahore and Calcutta Exhibitions were pretty generally followed; efforts

being mostly confined to the display suited to an agricultural community. But the Nagpore Exhibition of arts, manufactures, and produce, in the Central Provinces, under the auspices of Sir Richard Temple, at the close of the year, was conspicuous for the success which attended it. The cause of progress was further advanced by the institution of a college of engineering for the instruction of officers and men in that science. Roorkee, near the foot of the Himalayas, and close to the spot where the waters of the Ganges flow into the great canal, was the site selected for the college. Under the presidentship of Major Medley and his staff of professors, Roorkee College, on the plan designed by Sir Hugh Rose, has turned out one of those institutions that are destined to confer a lasting benefit upon the country. It must be further developed to become the West-Point of India ; but it is a germ capable of such development, and well worthy of the hearty support and encouragement of Government. The object of this collégè is to qualify officers and other students for the engineering profession. The former must be under the rank of field officers before they enter. Leave of absence is granted from regimental duty, and the time spent at the college is reckoned as active service. Non-commissioned officers and soldiers of good character can also get leave to be admitted to the college, and a certificate of proficiency is pretty sure to obtain them staff employ in the Public Works department. Civil students, or those who do not belong to the army, must be not under the age of eighteen, and must furnish a certificate of having passed the first examination in arts at the Calcutta University, or an examination equivalent thereto at any recognised college or university ; the usual certificate of good character, soundness of constitution, &c. are also required before matriculation. To officers of the army who study and pass the necessary examinations no appointment is guaranteed, but as a general rule all who qualify obtain employ, only they are required to join the

staff corps. To the non-military student there are eight appointments in the Public Works department, guaranteed annually to men properly qualified; and to those who enter into an engagement, on joining the college, to take employment in the service of Government, if found qualified at the end of the course, the instruction is gratuitous. The educational course embraces all the subjects of instruction imparted at schools and universities in England; and the opening in India for the engineering profession is so great that for many years to come Roorkee College will afford to industrious men a sure stepping-stone to a noble profession and a handsome independence. Indeed, in the opening it gives to young men of promise there is no institution in the United Kingdom to be compared to it, saving always, of course, the disadvantage of a residence in India. The scientific engineer in every country must be prepared to meet with difficulties peculiar to its conformation, the character of its rivers, plains, and mountains, the nature of its soil, and of the means, appliances, and resources it affords. To grapple effectually with these, local knowledge is indispensably necessary. Experience is sometimes too dearly paid for by failure, and the instruction imparted at the Roorkee College cannot fail to be highly valuable to the engineer, whether civil or military, whose field of operations is to be confined to India.

A brief *résumé* of the principal events in Indian administrative progress during 1865 would be incomplete without allusion to an admirable address delivered by Sir Bartle Frere to the Sirdars of the Deccan in durbar. Twice he met the Mahratta chiefs, once on the northern, and on the second occasion on the southern limits of their territory. Alluding to traditions of the past, the great deeds and the renown won by the famous heroes of antiquity, Sir Bartle Frere must have won a way into the hearts of those still uncultured descendants of warrior chiefs, who almost within the memory of the present generation were

the chivalry of Southern India. Crediting the sons with the warlike energy of the fathers, the speaker endeavoured to bring before them the contrast between the present and the past—between an age of peace and an age of war—showing them that the same energy and vigour which could win victory in battle could, if rightly directed, win no less valuable victories in peace. “Though it is no longer necessary,” he said, “to build forts, you may rival the Pandoo heroes of your early history by cutting roads over mountain gorges and building bridges over unfordable streams. You may emulate Asoka by works of irrigation, or of shelter to travellers, or by building hospitals for the sick and needy, and your name may be remembered with gratitude by future ages when all traditions of the mere fighting chieftains of former days shall have passed away.”

CHAPTER XI.

1866.

Famine and irrigation works—Orissa—Official blunders—Sir William Denison—Irrigation and private enterprise—Horrors of famine—The currency—Gold as a standard—The Currency Commission—Lord Napier visits Wynaad—Sir Bartle Frere resigns—The Bishop of Calcutta—The Indian chaplains—Dr. Cotton's untimely fate—His influence, usefulness, and character—The High Courts.

IF it be true that the horrors of famine may be averted in India by artificial irrigation, the fact that during a review of the history of that country for ten years it has been my lot to record two visitations of that terrible scourge becomes one of much significance. The first visitation within the period embraced in these pages was in 1860-61; the second was in 1866; and the record of 1868 closed with the gloomy prospect of a severe famine over at least one-third of the continent of India. Happily the fall of rain, long withheld in the early part of 1869, has in a great measure belied these forebodings, but in spite of this the distress has been very great, and India has had a very narrow escape of a third famine within the decade. These famines are the most awful visitations. An earthquake, which is destructive enough to form an epoch or a landmark in history, such as the great convulsion at Antioch or at Lisbon, and the recent catastrophe in Peru, occurs once or twice in a century, and carries off its twenty thousand, as in South America, and its sixty thousand, as at Lisbon, and its two hundred and sixty thousand, as at Antioch. There is always a tendency to exaggerate estimates of

great numbers in connexion with striking historical events ; and the longer the interval since the occurrence, the greater is the opportunity for the imagination of successive writers to add to the previous statement. It will be quite sufficient for the purpose of illustration to suppose that the earthquake at Antioch destroyed no more than double the number that fell at Lisbon. Suppose these visitations occurred three times within ten years in the same country, and suppose further, that the researches of science had disclosed a means for averting the calamity, what would be said of a government or a people that in spite of this discovery, and in face of this ever-recurring calamity, persisted in doing nothing to avert it? When the earth opens and swallows up a dense crowd of men, women, and children, and the sea rushes in with overpowering force, and sweeps away its thousands, or when buildings fall and crush the trembling wretches who have sought shelter under their walls, there is little of physical suffering for those who perish, and the after consequences on the survivors are not to be dreaded ; but when famine comes, the victims who fall under it die by the most horrible of deaths, and the amount of human suffering is perfectly appalling. Added to which, it is invariably followed by an outbreak of epidemic disease—either cholera or fever. The sufferers by earthquake or by war are reckoned by the thousand, but the victims of these Indian famines by the million ! Yet there can be no question that, unlike the earthquake, unlike epidemics, even unlike war, this terrible scourge might be certainly to a great extent, if not entirely, averted.

To the south-west of Calcutta, connecting the Bengal and Madras Presidency, there is a large tract of country on the western coast, washed by the Bay of Bengal, called Orissa. It is intersected by the great Mahanuddy river, which flows by the city of Cuttack into the Bay. In former years this country was inhabited by an industrious and wealthy population. In the time of Akbar it was perhaps at the

height of its prosperity, and the large and populous cities, the temples, the bathing places, the gardens, and buildings on the banks of the Great River,¹ rivalled those which adorned the holy Ganges. Many traces of its former magnificence are found in the shape of ruins now overgrown with jungle. It is not likely that the Mahommedan conqueror would depopulate and destroy a country incorporated by conquest with the empire; but that race of plunderers, the Mahrattas, who followed, were less scrupulous, and partly under the oppressions exercised by them, partly by misrule, and mainly from natural causes, Orissa has sunk during the last century or two from a populous and thriving country to the condition in which we now behold it, inhabited by an indolent and superstitious pauper population, said to number five millions, scattered over an area the size of England and Wales.²

Owing to a failure of the usual rains in 1865, great scarcity, developing as time went on into actual want, began to be felt in Orissa in the latter part of the year. In the early part of 1866, the distress was so great that the East India Irrigation Company began importing rice to feed their people. As usual, the alarm, being given by the non-official Europeans residing in the district, and by the press, was disregarded by the Government; and after the scourge had fallen, after about a million of human beings had perished miserably from want, a commission was appointed to investigate the extraordinary apathy evinced by the local government, and their report, with the minutes and official comments together, makes up a blue book of two thick volumes, which was published in 1867. The cries of the suffering people, and the indignant remonstrances of the press, reached England, and the Secretary of State called on the Viceroy for explanation. The old question was asked who was to blame, and the public was amused and scandalized by a triangular duel

¹ Mahanuddy, or "The Great River." ² *Friend of India*.

between the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Cecil Beadon, and the Calcutta Board of Revenue ; the local authorities in Orissa itself coming in for occasional stray shots from all three.

The Viceroy, in a minute dated 20th April, 1866, concurs with the commission in their opinion, the record of which reads almost like a grim satire, "that timely measures were not taken," and that "valid reasons were not adduced for this neglect." "It seems to me," the Viceroy adds, "beyond all doubt that there was a want of foresight, perception, and precaution, regarding the impending calamity, which was quite unaccountable even when allowance has been made for the fact alluded to by the commission that the officers under the Government of Bengal had with scarcely an exception no previous personal experience of the character of famines."

This must be regarded, however, at best as but a poor attempt to shuffle off the responsibility. The Supreme Government were neither deaf, nor blind, nor dumb ; they could read the papers, they could not help hearing what was being talked about everywhere. If a "terrible calamity" was impending, and the Local Government were taking no effective measures to meet it, were the Supreme Government tied hand and foot that they could not remonstrate ? Or was it that, according to tradition and custom, the regulations of the service, and red tape, an impending calamity must be allowed to fall, and tens of thousands of human beings be allowed to perish, because the "impending calamity" had not been represented to be "impending" through the "usual channels ?"

We have seen that in January the East Indian Irrigation Company found it necessary to import food for their establishments. Mr. Beadon visited Orissa himself in February, and after his return saw the Viceroy and related the result of his visit, and the Viceroy remarks, "that it was after hearing all which he (Mr. Beadon) had to tell me of the state of things in Orissa that I came to the con-

clusion that all which appeared to be necessary had been done for the country." To which Mr. Beadon somewhat testily replies in the Appendix to the Blue Book, at p. 4: "If His Excellency means to say that he does not believe what I have said, and what every witness examined on this point by the Commission has said, there can be no further room for discussion. But the fact is, as shown abundantly by the Commissioners' inquiry, that at that time no one feared that there was not food enough in the province to last till next harvest." It is clear, however, that the Irrigation Company did know there was fear of an absolute failure of food. Sir John Lawrence remarked that Mr. Beadon should have attached more weight to the views of those who held an opinion contrary to the officials, such as Colonel Rundall, the Company's engineer, and others, and have helped them to combat the opinion of the Board of Revenue, to convince them of the real state of the Province.

The inaction of the Board is thus excused by Mr. Grote, the senior member. At par. 20 of the Appendix, he says: "We have been charged with inaction in having failed to import food despite the warnings of the non-official community of the Province conveyed to us through the press. On such statements, *all unsupported as they were by those of our own local officers*, we have been held to blame for not doing in February and March what we had at last to do in May." The reasoning by which the Board was led to their conclusion is curious. They refused to import food into Orissa because Sir Charles Trevelyan's account of the second Irish famine in 1846, published in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 175, of 1848, shows that "the Government of that day throughout stated interference inexpedient in a crisis assumed to be similar to this." Mr. Grote then quotes the whole passage upon which he relies, and adds:

"I have made this quotation in the belief that it will explain and justify our hesitation to recommend a depar-

ture from rules and principles which paragraph 8 of the Secretary of State's despatch admits should not be lightly interfered with," (the interference by Government with the ordinary operations of trade;) "the question which so anxiously occupied the Home Government in 1846, and which was finally dealt with by adopting measures confining their interference in Ireland to a minimum, did not till the end of May come before us in the same form. It was then only that the actual crisis presented itself to the Commissioner of Cuttack, and that with him we saw the necessity for sacrificing every consideration" (even the *Edinburgh Review* of 1848) "to that of humanity."

In April the Supreme Government betook itself to Simla, and shortly after Mr. Beadon retired to Darjeeling, and the people in Orissa perished in thousands for lack of food.

The episode is worthy of this detail because it illustrates most forcibly the prominent defect in the constitution of the Indian Government, the excess of its bureaucratic element, its bondage to red tape, its exaggerated jealousy of external influence or non-official interference, and the contracting effect upon the mind which long years spent in the official groove of departmental routine inevitably imparts.

While Mr. Beadon, the old Bengal civilian promoted to Lieutenant-Governor, kept himself cool at Darjeeling, and only repaired to Calcutta, and that for a short time after the setting-in of the rains, in obedience to the order of the Viceroy, Lord Napier, the Governor of Madras, himself went, in the scorching month of May, to that portion of the district affected with famine which lay within the limits of his charge, and deputed the best officers he could find to other parts; and doubtless Sir William Denison would have done the same, had he been then in office, but he had recently retired on the expiration of his time, and had been succeeded by Lord Napier. It is another proof added to those we see daily in India, that an official career

is not the best school for governors of provinces. The famine raged the whole year, and many orphans were thrown upon public charity, most of whom were transferred to Calcutta to be brought up in the various charitable institutions in that city.

After getting several prizes for fine celery and onions, and being equally fortunate in the more refined department of flowers and plants at the Horticultural Exhibition, in the beginning of the year, Sir W. Denison took leave of Madras. It would be unreasonable at any time to charge with indolence a man of well-known scientific acquirements, who had already been successful in his career as Governor in Australia; but the press of Madras found fault with Sir W. Denison for indifference to public duties, although, when suddenly called upon to act for once during his Indian career in the face of a formidable crisis, he had exhibited all the genius of a great administrator. It is impossible to say what may not have been the consequence had Sir William Denison not been guided by his own sense of what was right, and had he not depended on his own judgment rather than on the experience and advice of others; if he had shirked responsibility, and confirmed the timid counsels of those who ought to have known India a good deal better than he. His firmness, at any rate, saved the country from a long and dangerous campaign, from political excitement which might have thrown it back a quarter of a century in as many months, and awakened afresh the spirit of disaffection which we fancied had been lulled into a feverish and passing slumber, but which was even then, though we knew it not, awake and active. In his own Presidency, there was little to do that might not be done quietly and without any display of statesmanship, and it is probable that Sir William and Lady Denison's influence was none the less beneficially felt in their respective circles because unattended with much *éclat*. The Governor was not wont to sound a trumpet before him when he went about his public duties; and the story

which is told of him, that during the few weeks he held office as Viceroy, after Lord Elgin's death, he took the opportunity of calling up all the cases which had been referred from Madras to the Supreme Government (some of them, no doubt, appeals from his own decisions) and settled them all, shows at any rate that he was alive to the interests of his own government, and could work with a will when there was necessity, as well as accept responsibility. He was indefatigable in his efforts to advance the cause of education, and if he kept the wheels of the state machine in very tolerable working order, revolving at exactly the same speed as his predecessor had left them, perhaps he thought he had accomplished all that was required of him. For once, during a three weeks' term of office as Viceroy, a tremendous responsibility was thrown upon him, which he cheerfully accepted, and by his firmness and judgment saved India from a very heavy political disaster. That he should have received no recognition for such an act will not be wondered at by those who know and can appreciate the influence of the Indian Civil Service. Lord Canning sacrificed India to his civilian counsellors; Sir William Denison saved at any rate the upper half of it in spite of them.

The Governorship of Madras was not the only office which changed hands this year. During the period three men successively filled the post of Secretary of State, or the Wuzer i Hind, as the natives somewhat euphoniously style that official. Sir Charles Wood was promoted to the Upper House as Lord Halifax, and was succeeded by Earl de Grey and Ripon, who was a short time after, in consequence of a change of ministry, succeeded by Lord Cranborne.

Two questions of vast importance and great interest came under discussion during this year. One of these, whether extensive irrigation works should be undertaken by the Government, or made over to private enterprise, came prominently into notice in connexion with the Orissa

famine ; the other, the currency question, had been under discussion by the local and the home governments and the press in India ever since Mr. Wilson had initiated reform in the finances, and it was this year submitted to a committee consisting of Sir W. Mansfield and the Hon. H. S. Maine, Mr. W. Grey (afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), Messrs. Cowie, Ross, Lushington, Halford, and Mr. George Dickens, manager of the Bank of Bengal. A vast amount of evidence was taken by the committee, but for some reason or other they refused to publish it as it was taken daily ; and their report, which came out towards the close of the year, was the most meagre and disappointing production of the kind ever seen.

There appears to have been a great deal of difference of opinion as to whether irrigation works were legitimately the exclusive department of Government, or whether they formed a fair field for private enterprise. Lord Canning clearly was of opinion that private enterprise should be encouraged in the construction of irrigation works, for it was he who sanctioned the East India Irrigation Company's operations in Orissa, where they undertook a grand scheme for the irrigation of the delta of the Mahanuddy and the adjoining country. They only commenced, however, in November 1863, and by the time the famine began they had progressed almost, but unfortunately not quite, up to the point where their canal might have been brought into partial use.¹ Under the pressure of the famine, however, they made fresh exertions, and by January could undertake to fertilize 10,000 acres, and within the following six months the canal was capable of watering 30,000 more.² Unhappily, owing to the apprehension caused by the approach just at that time of a new land revenue settlement, and an intimation from Mr. Beadon that the indirect result of irrigation would be an increased land-tax, the inhabitants would not take advantage of the oppor-

¹ The Blue Book on the Orissa Famine, vol. i. p. 19.

² *The Friend of India*.

tunities offered them. The Commissioner of Orissa, Mr. Ravenshaw, subsequently in a proclamation told the people that irrigated land would be treated as unirrigated in any future settlement; and then, as if to awaken as much anxiety and distrust as possible on a question so important to the people, the Commissioner was told that he had exceeded his authority in making such a declaration, and that the pledge should have been confined to the next approaching settlement.

Lord Stanley had also encouraged private enterprise in irrigation works by giving the Madras Irrigation Company a guarantee of five per cent. on a million sterling for twenty-five years. This company, it will be recollected, was started at Madras during the time of the great speculation mania at Bombay, in 1864. It was an unfortunate essay of Lord Stanley's, for after spending their million the Company found they had nothing to go on with; a further advance of 600,000*l.* was sanctioned by the Home Government; a condition, however, attached to the concession being, that should the canal not be open by 1871 the works are to be made over to the Government.

Sir Charles Wood, however, and his council appear to have been in doubt all this time whether it was a sound and prudent policy to entrust irrigation works to private enterprise, and in 1863 the opinions of the heads of the local governments were called for. Some were strongly against private enterprise being entrusted with works of this nature, and maintained that they were the exclusive province of the Government; others held that, under certain conditions and restrictions, private companies might fairly be called on to assist. Mr. Maine argued very strongly against private enterprise, saying that in Europe the question could never even have come under discussion, because it was a principle universally acknowledged in all countries where public affairs are conducted in accordance with the generally accepted principles of jurisprudence, that water, like air and light, can never become private property. Sir

John Lawrence objected to private enterprise mainly on the ground that it would be putting the population of the country in the power of a joint stock company; for when the agricultural population had come to depend upon canals for irrigating their fields, they would in fact be dependent for the means of existence upon the proprietors of canals.

It is much to be regretted that the prosecution of irrigation works was delayed, owing to this discussion. Until Government had made up its mind who should construct the canals they were left unmade, and the people exposed to the risk of ever-recurring famines. Mr. Massey went into the question in his financial statement for 1866-7, and stated the case very fairly, he himself being of opinion that Government and private enterprise might co-operate, which is a commonsense practical view of the case. To the Viceroy's argument, that it would be dangerous to abandon the natives to the mercy of a private company, Mr. Massey replied, that the country had for a century been governed by a trading corporation, and he was not aware that the East India Company's administration had contrasted unfavourably, either in generosity or humanity, with that of the Queen; that it is not a question as to who shall realize the profits, but one of much greater magnitude, involving the actual life of the people. And for irrigation works to be postponed while Government is haggling about the profits is as inhuman as it is impolitic.

Even so long ago as 1861, Mr. Laing in council remarked: "That Colonel Cotton had said that water was gold in India, but that it was more than gold—it was life." Yet for years the construction of works of irrigation had been suspended, while Secretaries of State, and Governors, and Members of Council wrote volumes of despatches to ventilate the question whether such works should be undertaken by Government or made over to private enterprise. In the two cases in which the experiment has been tried,

the conclusion has undoubtedly been unfavourable to the construction of extensive irrigation works by private enterprise. The Madras Irrigation Company started with a million capital guaranteed, and by the end of the first year was forced to apply for a guarantee for a further sum of 600,000*l.*, with the prospect after all of having to hand over their unfinished works, in accordance with the agreement to that effect, to Government. And the East India Irrigation Company, which commenced work in Orissa, was obliged to come to Government for assistance to prevent the sudden stoppage of their operations—a calamity which the Commission represented would cause great loss to the Province—and eventually to make over to Government their unfinished work, stock, and plant.

In addition to the subject of agency is one of construction. Unfortunately, there is a great difference of opinion between two schools of engineers in India, the Madras and the Bengal school. As long as the engineers of each province confined themselves to their own field, with whose peculiarities and requirements they were familiar, all went well; but, in an evil hour, in consequence of a reported failure of the Ganges canal, which in reality was not a failure, a Madras engineer of great repute was sent to examine and report on it. The general principles of engineering are applicable everywhere, and under all circumstances, but it is easily conceivable that there should be features in the character of rivers in Madras which are not met with in those of Upper India—a theory put forward by Mr. Login, C.E., and long scouted by his official superiors, but eventually proved by him to be sound; and this simple fact will account for much of the difference of opinion that has prevailed among eminent men. In the budget debate of 1867, Mr. Massey speaks of this unhappy dispute in the following terms:—

“We have had differences of opinion, differences very likely to arise between eminent engineers, as to the mode in which these works should be carried on. I should rather say there has been a conflict

of opinion between the two schools of engineers on the subject. While that conflict was raging, it was difficult for an unskilled Government to take upon itself to pronounce an opinion. But steps have been taken to reconcile the conflicting opinions, and I am sure that the ability and zeal which actuate the professional men who have given their time and talents to projects of this magnitude may be relied on to remove minor causes of difference, and to reach some practical conclusion advantageous to the country, conducive to their own fame, and satisfactory to the Government."

No pen, no language, can do justice to the overwhelming importance of this subject. Three famines in ten years will carry off four millions of people at least; yet in the time canals might be constructed which would keep those four millions alive. And it has been shown, on incontestable evidence, that irrigation works may be constructed at no loss; on the contrary, at a certain profit. But nothing was done, because Government was uncertain whether the interloping spirit of private enterprise should be allowed to interfere,—whether abstract principles of jurisprudence justified them in getting others to do absolutely necessary works which they could not do, at least had not done, for themselves, while their officers were squabbling about gradients and cubic feet of silt. It was as if two surgeons allowed a patient to die of hæmorrhage while they disputed about the kind of bandage that should be used to stop the bleeding.

The Government have, however, at last awakened to a sense of their responsibility on this head; and by the appointment of Colonel Strachey as Superintendent of Irrigation, and by other measures, indicated a determination to put their shoulder to the wheel. A brief statement of the projects now in course of being carried out was made by Sir John Lawrence to the Council on the 31st March, 1868, and I cannot do better than quote His Excellency's own words on the occasion. He prefaced his statement with remarking that, in the first place, irrigation works were by no means so profitable as had been represented, at any rate in many parts of India; and secondly,

that however anxious the Government might be to construct them, and although the principle had been fully established that they could borrow for the purpose of carrying out reproductive works like canals, yet the utmost care was necessary that more designs should not be taken in hand than could be carried out with due regard to economy and to their resources, which consisted of borrowed money; and thirdly, that they had been a good deal hampered by the want of properly instructed and experienced officers to superintend the operations.

His Excellency said :

“To show generally what had been done in the way of pushing on projects during the last year, the operations of each province would be briefly mentioned.

“Beginning with the Punjab, they had the new project for a canal from the Sutlej, roughly estimated to cost about two millions, which would immediately receive sanction to admit of the exact line being marked out on the ground, and the detailed designs and estimates of the works prepared. It might be hoped that work would actually be begun next season.

“Next, the remodelling of the Bari Doab Canal, with a view to increase the supply of water from the Beas River, was under consideration. Also a large project for improving the Western Jumna Canal, and for extending it into the arid districts near Sirsa.

“Surveys had also been put in hand for projects for canals to be derived from the Sutlej during the monsoon months, for the country between Ferozpur and Multan; and like surveys were also going on for extending the canals on the right bank of the Indus.

“There had been some difficulty in finding qualified officers for all these surveys, but they were believed to be going on satisfactorily.

“In the North-West Provinces, a new project for a canal from the Jumna, to leave it below Delhi, and to irrigate the Agra and Muttura districts, at a cost of about half-a-million, had been sanctioned in the rough, and was already in great part marked out. The remodelling of the Ganges Canal, and the arrangements needed for making it a complete line of navigation throughout its length, were in progress, and some part of the designs had already been received. When these and other contemplated navigation lines were carried out, there would be continuous water communication from Lahore to Delhi, Agra, the Doab, and on into Oudh.

“Plans were under consideration for carrying out extensive works in Rohilkhand, on the north of the Ganges, which would combine irrigation and drainage.

"Engineers were also at work in Bundalkhand, preparing projects for utilizing the water of the three chief rivers which flowed through that province. In connexion with these operations, it would be seen whether a further supply of water could be secured from the lower part of the Jumna to be led to Allahabad.

"In the province of Oude surveys were also in progress for a canal to be taken from the Sarda. This would be a first-class work, not smaller than the Ganges Canal, and might probably cost two millions or more.

"In Bengal, on the north, the engineers were at work in Tirhoot, with a view of utilizing the waters of the Gandak River. Also surveys had been begun in Nuddea, which might lead to the formation of a canal, often talked of, to be led from the Ganges near Rajmahal, perhaps as far as Calcutta. A project was well advanced for a canal from the Damoodah, to serve as a navigation and irrigation work, and communicating between the coal district at Rániganj and the Hooghly. Other designs on some of the other neighbouring rivers of this part of Bengal were also in hand.

"The canal from the Soane, which was to have been carried out by the East India Irrigation Company, would probably be handed over to the Government for execution, and arrangements would be made for beginning it as soon as the negotiations with the company would permit. The works of the same company in Orissa continued to progress.

"In the Central Provinces, an officer had been obtained from Madras for the special prosecution of irrigation works, and two promising projects were well forward, and might probably be in a fit state for submission to the Government of India for sanction in a month or two.

"In Madras, the attention of the engineers had been specially directed to the preparation of projects for the completion of the great works connected with the anicuts on the Godaveri and Kistna. Portions of these had already received sanction, and the rest were expected soon to be sent up. Two very large tank works were in course of execution near Madras itself. A large project had lately been sanctioned for the extension of the irrigation from the Pennair River in the Nellore district.

"A survey had also been carried out for a canal to turn the water of a river rising in the higher ranges of the Travancore mountains into the plain of Madura. There were considerable difficulties to be encountered in the realization of this scheme, but it was hoped that they might be satisfactorily met.

"Other projects of value were under preparation in the Madras Presidency, and important improvements in the Cauveri works were also contemplated.

"In the Bombay Presidency, beginning with Sind, a very large

scheme for a canal from the Indus at Roree, to irrigate the Hyderabad collectorate, was under consideration. Other projects were in hand for improvements of other existing canals in that province.

"In Guzarát, a project for a canal from the Tapté had just been sent up for sanction by the Government of India, and another project was believed to be in preparation for another valuable work.

"In Khandeish, one work of importance was already in operation, and the engineers were employed in preparing for its extension.

"In the Deccan there were numerous projects in various stages of progress, and several new schemes of magnitude almost ready for final submission to Government.

"Lastly, in Mysore, additional vigour had been given to the progress of irrigation works, and it had been proposed to apply a large sum from the accumulated surplus revenues, in excess of the annual grants from current income, to the prosecution of these works.

"To strengthen the hands of the Government in respect to engineers for employment on the new works, which would soon begin to be ready for execution, the Secretary of State had, at the urgent request of the Government of India, sent out to this country thirty civil engineers of experience, the greater part of whom had already arrived, and would be immediately distributed among the local governments, where their services were likely to be most needed. Increased numbers of young officers would also be appointed by the Secretary of State in the course of the coming year, so that it was hoped that no further difficulty of importance would be met with from this quarter.

"Generally, it might be affirmed that the Government of India had taken all necessary steps to inaugurate the policy of extending irrigation to the utmost. It had already established in every province a separate head to the Irrigation Branch of the Public Works Department, and would be ready to consider favourably every proposal having in view the improved administration of this class of works. It was the peculiar duty of the Government of India to see that all proper precautions were taken to prevent the hasty or wasteful application of borrowed money to new works ; and at the same time to provide all needful funds for the prosecution of works of ascertained utility and satisfactory design ; and till the present time, it was believed that no question had arisen as to the manner in which these duties had been performed by it."

If, as Sir Erskine Parry says in the minute already quoted, so many disasters have arisen in India from the error of clothing vague theories in the rigid garb of law, it may be safely asserted that many failures have occurred from an indiscriminate application of general principles of political economy, which are held to be indisputable

axioms in Europe, to a country like India, where the conditions under which those principles are to come into play are wholly different. Sir Charles Wood was entitled to speak with authority on the Currency, from the fact of his having been chairman of the parliamentary committee of the Bank Act of 1841, and from the part he took in the discussions on the Bank of England Charter Act in 1844, as well as from the experience he acquired while Chancellor of the Exchequer in the monetary crisis of 1847.¹ Of Mr. Wilson's, and his successor Mr. Laing's, capacity to deal with a subject of this nature there is no need to speak; yet it is not too much to say that the measures which were inaugurated by the experience of all these eminent men have been failures; and if the reason be asked, the answer is plain, because their experience was gained exclusively in England and applied to India. Once or twice the Indian Government has had to ship back to England gold bullion—sovereigns sent out from England to be forced upon the country; it was found that outside Calcutta every sovereign was worth a little more than the ten rupees it was intended to represent, the value increasing with the distance from the Presidency, and therefore, as a standard currency, it was useless. When Mr. Wilson first came out, there were in circulation, besides the rupee, a copper coin of standard value and gold mohurs, which can scarcely be said to have been in circulation, as they have not been received at Government treasuries in payment of revenue since 1852, and the native coins fetch a variable price in the market. There was, besides, a limited circulation of bank notes issued by the three banks at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, in which banks Government were shareholders, and were represented in the board of directors by their own officers.

Sir Charles Wood's views were fully explained to Mr.

¹ "Sir Charles Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs." By Algernon West, late Private Secretary.

Wilson before he left England, and after his arrival in India he drew up a minute on the subject of the Currency, in which he recommended three principal measures: to withdraw the paper then in circulation; to issue in lieu of it Government notes at the three cities—Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, and in circles in the interior, the note of each circle being a legal tender within its limits, and payable on demand at the central treasury and in the presidency cities; and that coin or bullion, to the extent of one-third of the notes issued, should be retained, and Government securities held for the remainder.

Mr. Wilson did not live to complete the scheme; and during Mr. Laing's tenure of office the Government of India passed the Currency Bill, deviating from Mr. Wilson's suggestion, which had Sir Charles Wood's cordial support, in making the banks in the presidency cities and their agencies, the centres of issue and exchange of notes. To compensate the banks for the loss of privilege of issuing their own notes, they were made treasurers to the Government, and entrusted with the management of the Government debt. This change in the constitution of the banks necessitated a new charter, in which the Government of India inserted a provision that was not in accordance with Sir Charles Wood's instructions, viz. a clause authorizing them to draw bills payable out of India, and to purchase bills for the purpose of providing funds to meet their drafts. Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was a more staunch supporter of Sir Charles Wood's views than either of his predecessors, succeeded in inducing the Government of India to agree to cancel that part of the agreement.

As regards a gold currency the main difficulty of introducing it is, that the State loans, and indeed all other public engagements of a commercial character in India, have been contracted in silver, and it would be impossible to have two standard currencies in circulation—a gold and silver one; and as the introduction of a gold standard would necessarily affect the value of silver, it would be

impracticable to introduce it without causing the utmost possible confusion in the account between debtor and creditor. Mr. Wilson underrated the advantage of a gold currency, and held firmly to the opinion that a widely circulated paper currency was what India principally required. Experience very soon showed that a paper currency in India was an exotic which it would require many years to acclimatize; it would not at once take root, though supported by the soundest principles of political economists. In 1864 the Chamber of Commerce of the three presidency cities addressed the Government, urging on them to introduce a gold currency. After much discussion the Government of India supported Sir Charles Trevelyan in suggesting that British and Australian sovereigns and half-sovereigns should be made a legal tender. Sir Charles Wood took a more correct view of the case than even the local government, borne away a little perhaps by the urgent representations of the Chamber of Commerce, whose unanimous opinion carried necessarily great weight with it. He pointed out that, at the existing price of silver, a sovereign was worth more than ten rupees; and that to make it a legal tender for less by law would be useless. Yet he allowed the experiment to be tried. It was tried with the result already seen, the sovereigns had to be shipped back again to England.

At the same time the Government, by a notification dated 13th November, 1864, intimated that English and Australian sovereigns and half-sovereigns would be received at all treasuries in payment of Government demands at par value. This order has recently (October 1868) been cancelled, and in substitution for it another notification issued, dated 31st of October, to the effect that the sovereign and half-sovereign will be received at ten rupees four annas, and five rupees two annas respectively, and that they will be issued, when available, at the same rate. When, however, sovereigns are selling in the market, as they were then, at ten annas, or one shilling

and threepence each, it is not likely that they will be paid into the treasury at four annas, or sixpence over the par value of ten rupees.

No further steps were taken till the Currency Commission was appointed in 1866, and much disappointment was occasioned by their report, in that they had been expected to compass impossibilities, and had not done so.

They recommended certain alterations in minor details, such as separating the offices of Currency Commissioner and Mastership of the Mint, advising Accountants-General not to exhibit too great a jealousy of remittances in notes, &c. The nature of their recommendations excited as much ridicule as indignation, for it was expected that the great authorities composing the commissions would solve the difficult problem which had been puzzling successive Secretaries of State and Finance Ministers for the last seven years. As regards the gold currency they remark that the following points seem to be generally and firmly established :—1. That gold coins are generally at par, and above par, both in the presidency cities and the Mofussil; a fact which was patent to every one. 2. That they are sought for in the provinces by merchants and bankers, and as a medium of reserve wealth by the people at large. 3. That when gold is below par, it is either because it is practically unknown, or because people are too poor to create a demand for it. 4. That the demand for a gold currency is unanimous throughout the country. 5. That gold coins of the value of 15, 10, and 5 rupees would find more favour than notes of that value; and that the introduction of gold would facilitate the establishment of the currency notes, outlying treasuries being assisted by such a measure towards the convertibility of the notes. 6. That the opinion seemed unanimous that the currency should consist of gold, silver, and paper.

The Commission proceed to say that, with the general wish of the country before them, they cannot hesitate to express a hope that the Government of India will persevere

in the policy which was recommended for the approval of the Secretary of State two years ago, to cause a legal tender of gold to be a part of the currency arrangements of India, that which is believed to have been erroneous in the original proposal being modified.

The Commission conclude with the suggestion, that as the institution of the paper currency in 1861 was eminently of a tentative character, and introduced with excessive caution, its partial failure should not be taken as a criterion of the success which may ultimately be anticipated. It is unreasonable to expect large or perfect results from what has hitherto been but an experiment.

It is not easy to see how the difficulty which Mr. Wilson observed on the very threshold is to be evaded. All commercial transactions, including state loans, have been in rupees, and debts so contracted must be liquidated in like manner. The forcible introduction, therefore, of either a gold or a paper currency seems to be an impossibility. No Englishman can the least realize the intensely conservative nature of the Indian character. There is no section of the human race, not excepting the Chinese, who are so resolutely opposed to anything in the shape of innovation. However plainly you may demonstrate to them the advantage of a gold and paper currency over silver, they will not avail themselves of that advantage; and if you force it on them, they will resent it with that spirit of sullen obstinacy and passive resistance which forms so marked a feature in the Oriental character. Legislation will not change men's natures, education may. And here, as in everything else, we revert to the same point to which every consideration connected with the fiscal, political, and commercial condition of India ultimately leads us, and we must look to the schoolmaster to sweep away all obstacles in the path of progress. By degrees, natives will become accustomed to gold and paper currency, and by degrees they will begin to use them. No better arrangement than that of circles for the paper currency can possibly be

introduced. A universal note for all India, or for one presidency, is an impossibility, because the Government would have to maintain a thousand banks,—every treasury at every little station or town in the Mofussil would become a small bank, and must be prepared at any time to cash the notes. This would involve an unmanageable establishment, over which supervision would be impracticable. If the note is not cashable at every place where there is a treasury, it will have to be discounted, and will not pass at par except in presidency cities, and cannot therefore be made a legal tender. But if British sovereigns and half-sovereigns are introduced and set afloat without any attempt to assign an artificial value to them, they will by degrees get into circulation, not as a standard currency of course, but as a subsidiary currency. We must not expect much progress in the present generation ; but in the next generation, and when the results of the educational efforts now in operation come to be felt, our successors will find the paper currency in free circulation, and the gold also will by that time have come, gradually, so far into use that it may be possible then to assign to it a standard value by law.

Above all things, crude and rash experiments by amateur financiers with the circulating medium of the country should be avoided.

Lord Napier, towards the close of the year, proceeded on a tour of inspection into the district of Wynaad, which is the great seat in the Madras presidency, next to the Neilgherries, or perhaps even before them, for European enterprise. It is for the greater part table-land, the most elevated section of the whole district not being more than 3,000 feet above the sea-level. It was first selected as a suitable spot for coffee cultivation as long ago as 1840. When Lord Napier visited it, the Europeans engaged in this and other kindred pursuits numbered upwards of 200. It was visited by Sir W. Denison once at least during his tenure of office, but the constant cry which the settlers

incessantly uttered for roads had never been heard. In 1864, the planters having formed themselves into an association, held a meeting to discuss their grievances, and consider how they should bring them to the notice of Government with the best chance of redress. Their efforts, however, were attended with no satisfactory results. Roads there were none. The coffee had to be transported to the coast for exportation on bullocks, or by coolies; and grain for the use of the latter, who to the number of 35,000 were employed on the plantations, had to be imported in a similar manner. Lord Napier had an interview with the planters' association, and assured them that the spectacle of English enterprise which he then witnessed was one which no governor could behold uninterested and unmoved. He promised them roads, and redress of many other grievances, of which they had, as he could not but acknowledge, not without justice complained.

In the latter part of the year, Sir Bartle Frere prepared to make over his charge to his successor, the Right Hon. Seymour Fitzgerald, and return to England, where he was shortly afterwards appointed to counsel. The popularity which attended the first period of Sir Bartle Frere's administration of Bombay did not accompany it to the end, yet he left India with a reputation scarcely perhaps surpassed by any of his contemporaries. He first came prominently into notice in Sind, where he held the office of Chief Commissioner during the anxieties of 1857, and subsequent years. As Governor of Bombay he fully sustained the reputation he had earned in the small non-regulation province. With energy and aptitude for business, with liberal views, and a great experience of the country, he put himself at the head of every movement which had for its object the welfare of the native community, or which was inspired by the spirit of progress. For a while he seemed to have solved the impossible problem of an Indian governor being popular with all classes, natives and Europeans, official and non-official.

With military officers and subordinates in civil employ, he was an especial favourite, for he had fought their battle vigorously in the height of the monetary crisis, and set forth their claims to some increase of salary to enable them to meet the unusual pressure upon their resources. With the native community he fell into disgrace on account of the appointment to the bench of Mr. Justice Anstey, who made himself so unpopular that the natives held a public meeting, at which a memorial was drawn up to the Secretary of State praying for his removal. As the chief ground of their dissatisfaction, however, was the severity of his sentences on fraudulent speculators in the height of the share gambling mania, their memorial met with but little favour, and the petitioners for the time turned the tide of their disappointed wrath upon the Governor.

India, which has been very prolific in great statesmen and warriors, has made but few additions to the roll of names illustrious in literature or science. The result is no other than we should expect. Anglo-Indians are too busy as a rule to engage in literary or scientific pursuits, and the English clergy are so small a body, and the prizes open to them so little tempting, that it is not to be wondered at that few men of note have come forward from among them. Outside the limits of the Established Church there are names, household words in India, which will be venerated wherever the story of missionary enterprise is listened to with any interest. Within the Church, Bishop Heber acquired a reputation for his zeal, and he was perhaps the first writer who in any sense brought India home to the English mind. He was the first to effect an introduction between the two countries, and give rise to an acquaintanceship which has, however, hardly yet ripened into intimacy. Dr. Daniel Wilson, who was Dr. Cotton's immediate predecessor, was a good and zealous man, simple-minded, straightforward, and plain-spoken, with many eccentricities and oddities of manner, which, though excused in one whose character for religion and

piety stood high, were scarcely calculated to excite respect. To him we are indebted for the erection of the Calcutta cathedral, a handsome ecclesiastical edifice in comparison with the hideous and unsightly piles of buildings which, as churches, disfigure the metropolis and all the old settlements in Upper India; for the ugly, oblong, brick and mortar barn, with bottle-shaped spire, which was the prevailing style of Indian church architecture in former days, seems designed to give expression to what it is to be feared was the predominant feeling towards religion and its ordinances. It looks as if a beer-chest and a black bottle had been the ideas uppermost in the minds of the men who designed these buildings. The Calcutta cathedral, though by no means what a cathedral ought to be in the capital city of our Eastern Empire, was nevertheless a great improvement upon the barbarous barrack and beer-chest style of a former generation. But Daniel Wilson, as he was generally called, cannot be said to have left any trace of his personal influence upon the society among whom he laboured. A zealous Christian and a pious man he was, but not gifted by nature with the qualities that go to make up a great one. To Dr. Middleton, another bishop of Calcutta, we are indebted for the foundation of Bishop's College, designed for the education of a native pastorate. The college, a plain, unadorned, and ugly, though rather massive-looking building, is the first object of art that attracts the visitors' attention on the left bank of the Hooghly as he nears Calcutta. But whether from its position, being separated from Calcutta by the river, or whether from the insalubrity of the site—a low meadow on the banks of the Hooghly—or whether because it was supposed to be the centre or head-quarters of what were regarded in India as High Church views, and therefore unpopular in a society immersed in the mere worldly pursuits and pleasures of a wealthy and luxurious commercial capital, or from other causes, the institution has never, even under the supervision of the most zealous and

learned Churchman that ever went to India, Dr. Kaye, answered to the desired extent the noble design of its founder.

In many respects, Dr. Cotton, who succeeded Dr. Wilson, was admirably suited for the post of Metropolitan of British India. In the first place, he enjoyed, to all appearance at least, good health and physical strength—no unnecessary requirement for the supervision of a diocese that extends about 2,500 miles in one direction, and nearly 2,000 in another. A good scholar, and a sound Churchman, of no extreme views, he could sympathise with the Non-conformist missionary struggling to plant an oasis in the desert, and with the High Church chaplain, eager to introduce the outward symbols and representations of Divine truth in an ornate and decent celebration of Divine worship. With a fine voice, and clear, impressive delivery, his sermons betokening deep thought and more feeling than they who knew the Bishop only officially could suppose he possessed, were listened to in crowded churches in Calcutta with deep and reverent attention. Transferred late in life to a sphere of action totally different from that in which all his previous career had been passed, Dr. Cotton exhibited a marvellous facility for adapting his genius and energies to the circumstances around him, and the duties before him. And perhaps the habit of command, acquired during his tenure of office at Rugby and Marlborough in the atmosphere of the schoolroom as it is in the region of the master's desk, was not altogether thrown away upon a bishop of a diocese like that of Bengal.

The chaplains, who stood towards him something in the position of sixth-form boys at Marlborough, felt that they had at their head one whom they dared not disobey, and out of whose control they would not be allowed to wriggle by any subtlety of military law or civil regulations; for Dr. Cotton had the full confidence of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief. He had, indeed, every one's confidence, for every one respected, and not a few feared him.

And sore indeed was the need which the Church had for such a man as Dr. Cotton. Readers of romance and of history too, who are familiar with the character the English clergy held a generation or a generation or two ago, can hardly believe that they belonged to the same class of society, or professed to discharge the same duties, as the clergy of our own day. That tide of wholesome reform which swept away so many defects in the character of the English clergy was slow in reaching India. Indeed, it was only in Dr. Cotton's time, and partly, no doubt, owing to his influence and strength of will, that the tide swept up into the Anglo-Indian Church. The indolence and laxity, if nothing more, that unhappily not very many years ago were so prominent a feature among the chaplains in the ecclesiastical establishment of the East India Company, as it was called, has almost wholly disappeared, and a layman may enter a church in India now without fearing that his feelings will be shocked by indecent and irreverent celebration of the Church's ordinances.¹

¹ It was not so formerly. The English reader will scarcely believe in the existence of such irreverence and want of decency as was common even in recent times. For years one of the chaplains was known to be almost always in a state of intoxication, and the matter was only taken notice of at last in consequence of his falling with his head upon the book in a state of drunken insensibility while reading the service in a church where the Commander-in-Chief's wife happened to be present. Among a large body of clergy it was to be expected there would be some black sheep, but I fear the instance alluded to was far from being exceptional. The consequence was a very low standard both among the laity and clergy; an indecent and irreverent mode of conducting divine service; churches as a matter of course shut up all the week and opened on Sundays for a couple of hours, during which the morning and evening services, clipped according to the fancy of the chaplain, were read, and a sermon, in which the preacher acted the part of the traditional signpost, delivered to a sleepy and listless congregation. The indolent habits which the climate is calculated to engender, and which every English resident is sure to contract, unless he is always on his guard against them, are very apt to result in a careless, slovenly performance of Divine service. One effect of this is the objectionable practice of employing native (heathen)

The pastoral tours, which the late Bishop's predecessor for many years was too feeble to make, were regularly undertaken by Dr. Cotton, who visited in turn every church and parish in his immense diocese. The effect was marked. The careless and indifferent chaplain felt that there was a superior over him who could and would call him to account for gross and scandalous conduct, or neglect of duty ; and the laity saw that there was a desire and an intention on the part of the Bishop, if he could not awaken zeal where there was none, at any rate to enforce a decent discharge of duty. Thus it was that the Church of England in India seemed to awake from a lethargic sleep under the episcopate of Dr. Cotton, and to feel that she had a mission to fulfil. The educational institutions which owe their origin or growth to Dr. Cotton's zeal or fostering care have already been mentioned, and it was when he was in the midst of all these good works that a fatal accident in the autumn of 1866 carried him suddenly away from the sphere of his usefulness. He was engaged in the distant province of Assam, in one of his pastoral tours, during which, with true apostolic zeal, he was wont to visit the churches, encouraging, consoling, edifying. After having seen all the principal places in the province, travelling chiefly in the Lieutenant-Governor's barge,—which, however, the difficult navigation of the rivers and streams often obliged him to leave behind, and to make his way in a native boat,—he had nearly completed his tour, when one night (it was on the 6th of October), as he was getting on board the steamer, at a place called

servants in subordinate offices, which the clergy are too lazy to perform themselves. Thus it is not pleasing to see a native servant with a crumpled cloth under his arm stroll up the aisle during Divine service, and proceed to lay the cloth, by no means a clean one, on the altar, or to see him bring to the officiating priest, or even place on the altar itself, the vessels and the elements for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. There has been an undoubted improvement in these matters within the last five or six years, but there is still too much of the old style remaining, more especially in mission churches.

Kooshtea, he accidentally lost his footing, and fell into the water. He had that evening consecrated the cemetery at Kooshtea, and had despatched his chaplain to the telegraph office to send a message announcing his speedy return to Calcutta. It was dark when he reached the water's edge, and he ascended, or attempted to ascend, a platform which was faultily constructed, having no handrail. So sudden and complete was his disappearance, that although attempts were at once made to rescue him, no trace of the body, nor even his hat, could be found.

Some idea of the estimation in which Dr. Cotton was held may be derived from the following proclamation, which was issued in the official *Gazette* upon the receipt of the intelligence, while all the ships in the harbour hoisted their flags half-mast high, and between the hours of ten and twelve in the morning the minute-bell was tolled from every church in Calcutta on the day appointed for the mourning: "There is scarcely a member of the entire Christian community throughout India who will not feel the premature loss of this prelate as a personal affliction. It has rarely been given to any body of Christians in any country to witness such depth of learning and variety of accomplishment, combined with piety so earnest, and energy so untiring. His Excellency in Council does not hesitate to add the expression of his belief that large numbers, even among those of Her Majesty's subjects in India who did not share in the faith of the Bishop of Calcutta, had learned to appreciate his great knowledge, his sincerity, and his charity, and will join in lamenting his death."

The last suggestion of the Viceroy illustrates in a very curious and interesting manner the force of Dr. Cotton's character. It is quite true the natives had learned to appreciate and like him. At first sight it would seem as if the circle of a bishop's duties revolved around a centre so far removed from the interests and associations of a heathen community that his mind could never by any possibility come in contact with native thought; but

without going out of his way, or abandoning his legitimate sphere of duty, he yet caused the light of his example to fall somehow so far within the shade of heathendom, that men who had no reverence or affection for Christianity could revere and admire the singularly manly character and the unaffected piety, the earnestness and the charity, of Dr. Cotton.

One of the greatest of all the mysteries that encompass human existence, and one of the greatest trials to the Christian's faith, and one of the strongest inducements to humility, is the phenomenon we so frequently see when men whose lives and labours are above those of all others valuable, and over whom we might expect a watchful Providence would ever extend its special protection, are carried away by some sudden and strange accident in the very midst of their career, and their work of usefulness cut short. So far as the human understanding can foresee what might have been, Dr. Cotton's life was perhaps the most valuable of any in the whole of India. His influence for good, which he had begun to exercise, would have increased as time went on. Unrestricted, like governors and generals, to a five years' tenure of office, he would probably have ended his days in his episcopate, not before he had seen the completion of those schemes and works of usefulness whose foundation he had laid. And even in the incomplete state in which he left them, they were a bequest perhaps the most valuable that could have been bestowed upon the Church in India.

Early in the present year, the Chief Court was established at Lahore, a Court possessing most of the powers of a High Court, and differing from it in little but in name and organization. Later in the year the High Court of the North-West Provinces was established by royal charter at Agra, under the presidentship of Sir Walter Morgan, Chief Justice. These tribunals have proved in every way most beneficial to the country, for they have earned in the fullest sense the confidence and respect of the people.

CHAPTER XII.

1867.

The Orissa disaster—Public meeting in Calcutta—New Governor of Bengal—The Bishop of Calcutta—Madras—The Madras Native Church—The Bishop of Bombay—The Licence Tax—Protest against the tax—The census in Upper India—The great Hurdwar fair—Cholera—The cyclone—The railway schemes—The Bank of Bombay.

EARLY in the year 1867, Colonel Strachey, who had been appointed Superintendent of Irrigation in India, came out from England invested with full powers to push on, as fast as his own judgment and discretion should warrant, the construction of canals. It seemed as if the Home Government had been awakened out of a deep sleep, or suddenly become conscious of their responsibilities in this particular. No effort was to be spared, and a very wide margin allowed to the sums that were to be sanctioned for the necessary works.

If the conditions under which the existence of the human race is maintained in temperate climes and with all the advantages which civilization confers, as in European countries, are an inexplicable problem to the philosopher, what must it not be in the East and West? Here the reflective mind constantly finds itself repeating the question—a question vainly asked by man's finite intellect—Why, for what end, to what purpose, have these millions of human beings been brought into existence? Out of the population of India, whatever it may be, say a hundred and forty millions, there must certainly be many millions whose

existence from the cradle to the grave, with very few exceptional periods, is one course of physical suffering. But setting them aside, and allowing that the wretched people, to all appearance but one degree removed from their fellow-labourers the oxen, derive at any rate as much enjoyment from the mere physical functions of life as the brute creation, we are staggered when we find Nature, who at the best of times seems to deal so harshly with these hapless creatures, suddenly, as it were, lashing itself into fury against them, and setting in motion one after another the most terrible engines of destruction. The mind utterly fails to comprehend the magnitude, or to conceive the intensity of the misery, caused by such a calamity as befell the inhabitants of Orissa in 1866-67. A similar instance, under very analogous conditions, has recently occurred in the West, where many thousands have been swallowed up by earthquakes. While the sceptic turns aside from the contemplation of some millions of human beings swept away by the ravages of famine or earthquake or the waters of a flood, with his doubts as to the existence of a Divine government of the world confirmed, Faith, with full assurance that in spite of these seeming contradictions "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof," is content to wait for an explanation of the riddle.

We know very little more about the conditions of existence in the orders of life inferior to us, than we do of those which occupy a superior position in the grade of creation. In the former case, we can indeed watch the habits of ants and bees, and other insects which possess a marvellous instinct such as to compensate them in a great measure for the want of reason. There is no longer any question that ants have artificial conditions of life analogous to those with which we are familiar among ourselves.¹ They have separate communities, divisions of society, labouring classes, slaves, armies, and rulers who direct operations in war

¹ "The Insect World, with a Description of the Habits and Economy of some of the most interesting Species." By Louis Figuier. 1868.

and exercise the government during peace ; they have laws by which measures that are necessary for the good of the commonwealth are carried out with regularity and exactitude ; they build cities, granaries, treasuries, palaces, and fortify them, and the construction of their public works shows they have an instinctive acquaintance with the principles of mechanics. All this we know from observation of their habits. Of their inner life we know nothing, but we see that they plainly have the power of communicating ideas to one another. One hour of our time is to them perhaps a long period, during which great political changes may take place, revolutions be effected, campaigns conducted, settlements destroyed and founded. Yet these little creatures, intent on their own concerns, wrapt up in affairs that appear to them as momentous as a change of ministry or a new reform bill does to us, must, if they are capable of observation, get occasional glimpses of another world out of and beyond their own circle of existence, and immensely superior to it in all its conditions and in respect of the forces it employs. The morning of a summer's day, to them perhaps half a generation, has been spent in the construction of a large city : the site, selected by the most intelligent of the community, has been an unlucky one, but the engineers and surveyors had not the gift of prescience, and could not divine that a party of young ladies and their attendant cavaliers would after luncheon go out to play at croquet upon the very site where a community of hundreds of thousands of living creatures have been for half a century constructing their city. At last the engine of destruction approaches, and a revolution of the roller sweeps away the hopes of thousands, the glory of a commonwealth ; all its public institutions, its palaces, its dwellings, its fortifications, and the terrified survivors are scattered houseless over the face of the earth. If they possess *Quarterlies* and *Saturday Reviews*, they doubtless discuss the prodigy in all its bearings. Whence did the roller come, and what force propelled so huge a mass of rock ? Why where so many thousands

of living creatures cut off in the midst of life and health, and the career of so many public characters, rising into fame and power, stopped short by death? Would the calamity recur? If so, when, at what interval, under what conditions?

The contemplation of such calamities as befel Orissa in 1865, '66, and '67,—as have recently befallen the cities of South America,—is calculated to awaken in the mind uncomfortable doubts and misgivings, which are apt to spring up, because we are always prone to forget that the finite cannot compass the Infinite. We no more see and understand the whole system of the government of the universe than the ants do the motives and operations preceding the catastrophe that overwhelmed them on the garden plot. They get a glimpse of a mighty power external to and infinitely beyond them in resources, exercising forces which they can neither comprehend nor measure, and which nevertheless every now and then seem to be applied to their destruction with most deadly effect. No doubt they believe, if they have the faculty of reason, that the roller was sent by some law of Nature specially set in motion to compass their destruction. And when it is recollected that the laws and conditions of the universe are infinite in number, in variation, and in their operation, and that our reason and science in reality bear a smaller proportion to the vastness of infinity than the instinct of the ant does to the nature, the motions, and the actions of the croquet players, and their antecedent phenomenon the roller, though we get no explanation indeed, we may cease to perplex ourselves with a vain inquiry into the system of a Divine government which permits such catastrophes as the Orissa famine and inundation, or the Peruvian earthquakes, to overwhelm huge masses of human beings.

Early in the year it was deemed desirable to call a public meeting at Calcutta, and the very unusual spectacle was presented of the Viceroy seeking the co-operation of the residents and the non-official public. It would be better

for India if the spectacle was less rare. The enthusiasm with which Sir John Lawrence was received, and the hearty response which his request for aid called forth from all classes, shows how greatly the people of India are misrepresented by writers who make out that the want of sympathy between the governing races and the governed is on the part of the latter only.

Sir John Lawrence, in addressing the meeting, thus summed up the disasters under which Orissa had suffered :

"I will here remind you that in 1865 there was a general failure of the crops in the three districts of Orissa, followed by very indifferent harvests in 1866, while in the autumn of that year a large part of the province was also inundated. The floods of the Mahanuddy and other rivers broke through their embankments and submerged extensive tracts of land in their vicinity. All the crops in these localities were spoiled, and property which had escaped the famine was carried away or destroyed. What the drought had spared was engulfed in the wide vortex of water. In this way one-half the district of Cuttack alone, extending over an area of 1,500 miles, has been devastated. From the most reliable accounts it is estimated that from one-fifth to one-fourth of the population of the province has already perished. What famine and starvation began, diarrhœa and pestilence have completed. It is estimated that we may have to import into the province not less than 1,200,000 maunds of rice, equal to about 27,000 tons. We have already arranged for the introduction of half that quantity by the 1st of April, and the rest will follow as rapidly as may be found necessary. There were already," he added, "1,500 orphan children to be provided for, which might increase to 2,000 more, and ten lacs of rupees, or £100,000, would be required for their maintenance."

The Viceroy had previously telegraphed to the Secretary of State, then Lord Cranborne, begging that a subscription might be got up in England ; to which the following curt refusal was transmitted in reply :—"January 21st. Your

telegram received, and sent to the Lord Mayor. He thinks no subscription could be raised here. I have made inquiries, and think he is right. Distress here from panic, frost, and strikes is terrible, and engrosses public attention." Sir John Lawrence, alluding to this refusal of assistance at the meeting, remarked, it was only the more necessary for those present to exert themselves. Eight persons on the spot subscribed 2,500 rupees each, and the Viceroy himself gave 10,000 more towards the relief fund.

It is impossible to make any very accurate estimate of the total number of lives lost by this calamity, but the *Friend of India*, on sound data, reckons that it could not have been under two millions! and there is no reason to suppose that it was an over-estimate.

In this year Sir Cecil Beadon retired from the government of Bengal, and was succeeded by Mr. William Grey; while Sir Gaspar Le Marchant—after three years' tenure of the Commander-in-chiefship of Madras, during which time, if we are to be guided by the journals of that Presidency, he had done less for the army than any of his predecessors, and succeeded in making himself universally unpopular—retired, and made way for General McClaverty.

The bishopric of Calcutta, vacant by the lamented death of Dr. Cotton, was, after being refused by several divines in England, eventually accepted by Dr. Milman, who was installed in the Calcutta Cathedral on the 2d April.

The new Bishop was regarded by the Evangelical party in Calcutta with some suspicion, as a report had preceded him that his views on Church matters were tinged with a tendency to Ritualism. But he soon gave indication that, whether holding High or Low Church opinions, he had come to India fully impressed with the importance of the duties he had accepted. On his way to Calcutta, he had landed at Madras, where, in answer to an address presented to him by the Bishop and clergy of that Presidency, he said, that "he looked upon his work as essentially missionary. At the present time, the gradual development of the Native

Church was a matter full of interest, and he should rejoice to watch over, and as far as possible assist its progress. He was to carry on to the utmost of his ability the labours which the sudden and awful summons of Bishop Cotton had so unexpectedly arrested." Like the Ephesians of old in the presence of their great apostle, who paid them a passing visit on his voyage, those present at the meeting then knelt down and, the Bishop of Calcutta leading, joined in repeating the Litany. They then bade him "God speed" on his journey, and he passed on to the head-quarters of his diocese, where his unceasing labours and untiring energy in the cause of religion and the Church have fully borne out the high estimate that was passed of his character by his friends and associates.

In Dr. Gell, the Bishop of Madras, Dr. Milman must have found a sympathising friend and a warm coadjutor. Differing as regards his views of Church matters from his metropolitan, the Bishop of Madras has won all hearts by his fervent piety, and awakened the respect of all who have watched the primitive zeal with which he has devoted himself to his apostolic duties.

Early in the year he delivered a charge which is especially interesting in an historical point of view, as it supplies much statistical information regarding the condition of the Church in the South of India, otherwise difficult to get. He had, when he delivered the charge, visited the whole of his extensive diocese; he had confirmed 6,600, of whom over 5,000 were natives; several ordinations had been held, at which 11 native deacons were ordained and 18 admitted to priests' orders, of whom 9 were natives. The numbers of licensed clergymen were 162, a number totally inadequate to the work of the diocese. The number of Protestant Europeans and East Indians in the diocese is estimated at 24,000, scattered over 47 chaplaincies and stations.

The Bishop paid especial attention to the condition of the native churches in the districts of Tinnevely, Tanjore,

and Travancore. Those who are unacquainted with the extent to which the bonds of caste fetter the minds of the people of India will be surprised to hear the Bishop's testimony to the extent to which caste is a burden upon the Christian Church. Now, as thirty years ago, when Bishop Corrie and Bishop Wilson visited the place, the strange anomaly is presented of the Christian high-caste convert refusing to kneel at the same altar with his low-caste brethren. All the efforts which have been made to induce these professors of a faith that admits of no distinction of persons, to lay aside their prejudices, have been in vain. As Bishop Gell says, "The cords of caste-tyranny are stronger than those of Christ's love." The Syrian churches in the South, which attracted the attention of Bishop Wilson, and led him to indulge the hope that they would be one day amalgamated with the Protestant churches, have shown some symptoms of life and progress. Some of them have ceased to celebrate Divine Service in an unknown tongue, and use the vernacular, and in other respects they give indication of a desire to conform to the usages of Protestant worship. During the three years preceding the Bishop's visitation, there had been an increase of 7,243 members to the native churches, making a total of baptized Christians of 55,495. In addition to which, there were 21,093 persons who had renounced idolatry, and were being prepared for baptism. The number of European and East Indian missionaries is 53; there are 34 native clergymen, a number which has since been increased to 40.¹

The diocese of Bombay was less fortunate in its Bishop, Dr. Harding, who rendered himself notorious all over India by his iconoclastic zeal on Christmas-day, when on entering the Cathedral, before taking his seat, he stood in the aisle and deliberately stripped to pieces the ornamental floral cross which fair hands had the afternoon before

¹ The *Madras Times*, March 27th, 1867, from which the statistics condensed from the Bishop's charge are taken.

affixed to his seat, throwing the poor withering leaves and petals on the ground; and when he approached the altar for the celebration of the Communion service, his first act was to destroy with similar Vandalism the cross of flowers and evergreens on the altar-cloth. And this incredibly bad taste was evinced on two occasions on two successive Christmas festivals.

The political history of the present year centres upon the introduction of the Licence Tax by Mr. Massey. This was a tax, as its name denotes, on professions and trades, to which the utmost opposition was raised outside the Council—a public meeting being held at the Town Hall at Calcutta to protest against it. In principle the tax, although it was so unpopular, has little that is objectionable; in the way in which it was introduced, and in the extent to which the operation of the tax was limited, it was most objectionable. In their method of dealing with this bill, the Council irresistibly remind us of mischievous little boys bent on the pastime of ringing door-bells and then running away. The bill was proposed for the first time on the 8th March; and as if the Legislature were engaged in some work of which they felt ashamed, or as if it was an act the consequences of which they feared, the most unheard-of and unprecedented expedient was adopted, and the bill was brought before the Council and became law on the same day! The promoters of the memorial to the Secretary of State who addressed the public meeting very aptly remarked, "That a measure of such grave importance should not have been laid before Council for final decision without due notice being given to allow of some expression of opinion upon it on the part of the public, and the haste with which the bill was hurried through the usual stages and passed was as unseemly as it was unnecessary."

As it is unlikely that the Council was actuated either by fear or shame in passing the bill, there is only one other motive upon which the "unseemly haste" is to be

explained. No one can study the progress of Indian administration for the last ten years without being struck with the ever-recurring expression of contemptuous indifference to the wishes and opinions of the public which characterises the measures of Government, and too often colours the speeches of its members in Council. Of whatever material the European community in the three Presidency cities may be composed according to official tradition, one would suppose that the interest and opinions of an important class—for, after all, what would India be to England if it were not for commercial transactions between the two countries?—would not be deemed utterly beneath the notice of the governing body.¹ It is not impossible that the manners of the Indian official world may have been corrupted by the evil communications of the Home authorities, some of Sir Charles Wood's despatches being famous for the contemptuous indifference with which he seems to have regarded the views and representations of the local government, and that the scant courtesy dealt out to Chambers of Commerce and deputations may have proceeded on the principle that seems to be inherent in human nature, and by which the boy who cannot retaliate upon his oppressor vents his feelings by bullying one weaker than himself; and so the scale runs down from the top to the bottom of the social ladder. The practice is at times mischievous. If Lord Canning had not, acting under the counsels of his civilian advisers, refused with this contemptuous indifference the aid of the Calcutta European community to raise a volunteer force early in June 1857, the tragedy at Cawnpore might have been prevented, hundreds of invaluable lives saved, and untold sufferings averted. Courtesy and respectful treatment of our neighbours cost little and are often of much value.

¹ See also a recent work of Colonel Chesney on "Indian Polity," where throughout the official view of all independent classes, especially the European, colours the representations and language of the writer.

The great fault to be found with the Licence Tax was that all professional incomes above 25,000 rupees a year paid no increase of duty. Thus members of Council, who legislated for themselves, and other high officials drawing 100,000 a year, paid no more than the barrister or the collector drawing 25,000; while the tax demanded as much from an income of 10,000 as from one of 24,000, from 5,000 as from 9,000, from 1,000 as from 4,000, and from 500 and 200 as from 900 and 400 respectively. And while the wealthiest classes wholly escaped proportionate taxation, the hard-earned pittance of 20*l.* per annum was mulcted in a sum of eight shillings. The objections to the clause affecting companies are similar in principle. On a paid-up capital of 5 lacs, the same sum was to be levied as on a capital of 9 lacs; on 10 lacs as on 1 crore or 100 lacs, whether such companies had paid dividends or not.

The meeting which protested against the unseemly haste with which this measure had been passed into law, and appealed against its injustice, was not actuated by any foolish opposition to taxation on general principles. They were fully prepared to admit that a permanent addition to the resources of the country was an imperative necessity; all that they argued was, that a tax unjust in its operation, which was to yield only 500,000*l.*, which practically exempted the wealthiest classes to which the Legislature themselves belonged, so hastily shuffled through Council, was a measure unworthy of a Government like that of India. Their appeal to the Secretary of State met with the usual fate of such representations, and was rejected.

The episode, however, exemplified the force of the old adage, "the more haste the less speed;" for, after hurrying the obnoxious bill through Council, with the chance of its being vetoed upon the representation of the memorialists, the Government did not like to put it into operation, and it was eventually delayed much longer than it would have been if the ordinary course of procedure had been

observed. The original bill was repealed, and another bill in an amended form passed later in the year.

Another instance of this contemptuous indifference to public opinion is afforded by a characteristic incident which occurred early in the year. One of the social peculiarities of the natives of India is a generally-accepted idea that there is something derogatory in having to attend a court of law. No matter whether as a suitor, a defendant, or a witness, a native of high rank considers it an insult to be forced to attend court. The Government, who have from time immemorial humoured the natives into one-half of what are called their "caste prejudices," always winked at this little weakness, and have by law exempted from attendance at court a certain class of persons. The Bengal Government, acting on its privilege in this particular, granted the usual coveted exemption to seven Bengalees, one of whom was a merchant, on the ground that they either had been or were members of the local Legislative Council. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce remonstrated against this silly extension of a most mischievous Act, for the members of the Legislature surely of all others have, or ought to have, the least reason to be ashamed of the courts of the country, and might be expected to set a good example in this respect to their less-enlightened fellow-countrymen. The Chamber of Commerce pointed out that the privilege was one unknown in any other part of Her Majesty's dominions, that it is opposed to the first principles of justice, and that it should only be allowed in certain families where it had been held as an hereditary privilege for many generations. To this very reasonable memorial the Lieutenant-Governor replied, declining to withdraw the boon, ending with thanking "the Committee for the interest and trouble they have taken in a matter which had no apparent connexion with the commercial interests of Bengal, and regarding which, therefore, it did not occur to the Lieutenant-Governor to consult them!"

The results of efforts to obtain an accurate return of the

population of two of the principal subdivisions of British India—the North-West and the Central Provinces—were published this year. We are much indebted to Mr. Chichele Plowden, the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, for a very clear and lucid statement of the census of the North-West, which presents us with several very interesting facts. The Hindoos bear the proportion of more than six to one of Mahommedans, the former being 25,674,819, and the Mahommedan 4,105,206. The Hindoos have been divided into the four great castes or sections, for the word “caste” hardly represents the distinction between the original great divisions of the race or races. These four divisions or sections are, as every reader of elementary geography knows, the Brahmins or priests, the Cshetriyas or military, the Vaisyas or agricultural, and the Soodr or servile classes. The castes proper are no less than 560, but the four great sections of the Hindoo community stand respectively as follow:—Brahmins 3,451,692, Cshetriyas 2,817,768, Vaisyas 1,091,250, Soodres 18,304,309. It would be uninteresting to the general reader to follow the census into details, although, from the list of trades or occupations set down, some amusement might be derived. Here we find all the degrading pursuits invented to minister to the lusts and passions of the rich which are unhappily represented in every community that has made any advance in civilization. But apart from these we have callings and trades, some of which, though they may have their counterparts in European communities, are seldom represented by separate classes, such, for instance, as “pedigree-makers” and “flatterers for gain,” of whom the North-West Provinces can supply twenty-eight in the one case, and 226 in the other. Although there are in the list upwards of 400,000 beggars, and 111 of another species of the same genus called “alms-takers,” 900 “budmashes” or scoundrels who live by their wits, the whole province is represented by the official returns to contain but one “vagabond.” Of “ear-piercers” there are eighteen, “sturdy beggars” thirty-

five, "hangmen" the prodigious number of 133, "fortune-tellers" three, "jesters" 800, and one "informer." It is remarkable that the numbers of informers and vagabonds should be represented by the unit, and it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that he may be the same person under two characters. The number of native Christians is set down as 14,126, Europeans as 27,761—which of course includes the army, and 5,069 Eurasians. This census, compared with Bishop Gell's census of the Native Church of Madras, shows that native Christians are as one to four in the North-West Provinces and the Southern Presidency, a proportion we should have been fully prepared to find.

It is important to notice that out of the whole population the agricultural class is said to number 17,656,006, the industrial 3,868,822, among whom there are reckoned no less than 135,515 gold and silver smiths.

The Census of the Central Provinces was taken on the 5th November, 1866, after great precautions to impress on the people, who are less advanced than the inhabitants of the North-West, that the process of numbering them was not to be followed by any unpleasant consequences, of which they appeared in much apprehension. In these provinces we find the Hindoos bear a much larger proportion to the Mahommedans than in the North-West, there being 6,864,770 Hindoos to 237,922 Mahommedans. The aboriginal tribes number very nearly two millions. The proportion of population to area in the Central Provinces is 365 to the square mile of cultivated soil, whereas that of the North-West is 351. But the immense extent of waste and jungle lands in the former territory is illustrated by the proportion of only 79 to the square mile, if the whole area, cultivated and uncultivated, is reckoned. The whole population of the North-West is given at 30,110,615, the Central Provinces 9,104,511, making a total of upwards of thirty-nine millions, out of which four and a half millions only are Mahommedans. Statements of figures on paper convey to the mind but

an imperfect idea of the actual number represented. But some notion of the amazing extent of the population of India in the aggregate may be gained by a visit to the great religious gatherings or fairs as they are called, which periodically attract millions to some central spot, generally the banks of a sacred river, for devotional purposes. The most famous and most familiar to the English reader of all these fairs or religious gatherings, is that of Hurdwar. In the present year (1867) the collection was unusually large, owing to the return of a sacred cycle which recurs every twelfth year, and is called the "Coombha" fair, so named from the planet Jupiter being then in the sign of Aquarius, at which season the pilgrimage to the sacred river, and bathing in it, are supposed to be accompanied by especial and peculiar blessings. Every 144th year the sanctity of the ceremony is increased in proportion to the rarity of its recurrence, and the cycle fell in 1867. "In addition to this a belief had gained ground in all parts of the Peninsula that the sacred character of the Ganges was being interfered with, and that ere the time of another gathering could arrive, it would be entirely destroyed." This idea, it is suggested, arose on the completion of the Ganges Canal, which it was supposed would eventually dry up the river by exhausting its waters. The notion may also have a deeper signification, indicating that the advance of intelligence, the result of British rule and education, is destined to undermine the influence of the Brahminical priesthood, and the sanctity of the holy stream.¹

Some particulars of the Great Coombh, as related by an eye-witness, may not be uninteresting. It is necessary to premise that, owing to the immense concourse of people which was expected, and the certainty that it would be attended or followed by the outbreak of some epidemic,

¹ These are the suggestions of the late Mr. Robertson, of the Bengal Civil Service, magistrate of Saharunpore. See an interesting account of the Hurdwar fair of 1867, in the fourth annual report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India for 1867.

the Government had taken every precaution possible to secure attention to sanitary arrangements, as well as to preserve the peace, for large bands of devotees assemble in thousands under rival spiritual guides, and not uncommonly enact the same sort of scene that might be witnessed in former years, at the church of the so-called Holy Sepulchre, where pilgrims who came to pray remained to fight.

The gathering of the people from different parts of India commenced about the 10th of March, and increased steadily up to the 7th of April. From that day till the 11th, the rush of pilgrims pouring in upon the sacred spot was immense. It is supposed that there were not less than from two and a half to three millions collected in the place. On the 12th, the sacred day, this mighty concourse of human beings arose as one man for the ceremony of purification.

One of the first objects of the authorities had been to erect ten bridges across the river at certain intervals, which were placed under the charge of police, and marked off with different coloured flags, in order to prevent collision between streams of people crossing over bridges in different directions. One of the most striking features of the fair is the assembling of the different sects or followers of various "fakirs" or "mahunts," who are noted for some peculiarity in their religious teaching. In 1843 a very serious collision took place between the followers of two opposing sects, regarding precedence in bathing, which was attended by loss of life. On the present occasion measures were taken to bring them in under an escort, which both acted as a guide and prevented any breach of the peace. It was a curious sight to watch these processions of devotees, under the leadership of their several "fakirs," marching with a cavalry escort headed by the magistrate, a road being made for them through the surrounding mass of human beings by the foot police. After performing the seven prescribed immersions in the sacred

water, the processions returned as they came across the bridges to their respective encampments. The writer, whose account was published in the *Delhi Gazette* of the 18th April, proceeds as follows :—

“I must here make prominent mention of the admirable arrangements made by Major Watson, Superintendent of Police, for checking the progress of the overwhelming crowd approaching the ‘sacred ghaut’ (bathing place) at the time when the sects of ‘faquirs’ were in the water. This was executed by means of red flags placed in the hands of policemen stationed on prominent localities at intervals of three and four hundred yards all along the main road appointed for the people, and where strong bodies of police were posted and barricades erected. When each set of faquirs approached the bridge of boats to cross over to the ‘sacred ghaut,’ the red flag at the ghaut would be exhibited, a signal for all other flags to be waved, indicating that the ghaut was occupied by the faquirs. The police at the barricades immediately drew up in line, and stopped the onward progress of the multitude. The communication was so rapid and effective, that the mass was simultaneously broken into divisions, and stopped without the dread of the people falling over one another and being crushed. When these flags were withdrawn, it was a signal for the crowd to be allowed to proceed again. Had this method not been adopted, great loss of life would inevitably have occurred during this momentous day. But one death happened on the Dehra Dhoon side, owing to the giving way of one of the barricades through the immense weight on it, and by which a few persons were injured.

“The greater portion of the crowd took up their position on the vast tract of land opposite the river, familiarly called the ‘Island of Roree.’ This part of Hurdwar was marked off into bazaars, ‘mohullas,’ and marts for cattle of all kinds, and placed by Major Watson under the superintendence of Captain Bramly, who worked it as a district, with six police stations, composed of 140 constables, irrespective of officers. The sanitary arrangements of this island, together with that for the whole fair, were conducted by Dr. Cutcliffe, F.R.C.S., the civil surgeon of Saharunpore. To this officer’s unremitting exertions the total absence of sickness was attributable; his close supervision and directions to the police respecting the keeping clean all latrines, and the burning and reducing to ashes all filth, in furnaces erected for the purpose, effectually checked the birth of any disease. No epidemic or infectious diseases showed themselves. Hospitals were erected in different parts of the grounds to accommodate the sick, but happily they were but little used. It would only take up too much space were I to detail the sanitary arrangements; suffice it to say that, had irregular squatting been permitted, as was too well experienced at the late Agra

durbar, cholera would to a certain extent have made its appearance in so dense a crowd.

"I cannot mention in language too high the commendable exertions of the police of the North-West Provinces and Punjab. They have as a body worked hard and with a will; their exertions at the 'sacred ghaut' were the theme of praise. Young and old, infirm and blind, alike received their needful help in pulling and assisting them up the wooden steps at the water's edge. Women in hundreds rushed frantically into the water with babes in their arms, which in the immense crowd were torn from them, but none lost their children; people who had accidentally lost their wives and children found them after a short time at an adjoining police station, where all were conveyed and kept till owned. It is wonderful that no loss of life occurred.

"It would have been impossible to have made anything like a correct estimate of the crowd which assembled at this fair, but calculating by the Oriental system of one lac of souls to every square 'coss,' it was judged that there were no less than three millions of people at this 'Coomb fair.' For miles round Hurdwar, and on the Dehra Dhoon side, a vast encampment as far as the eye could reach was seen. Most conspicuous of all was that of His Highness the Maharajah of Cashmere. His Highness the Rajah of Bhurtpore offered up his orisons to the shrine of 'Mahadeo,' but in quite a different way to the pomp and show displayed by the Maharajah of Cashmere. Various people of note and respectability were here, among them Sir Deo Narain Singh, K.S.I., with bare head and the customary small winding sheet; but now all, poor and rich, are wending their way homewards.

"This fair will long be held in remembrance, chiefly and solely for the completeness of the arrangements that were adopted for the convenience and well-being of the crowd, both as regards the 'sacred ghaut' and in a sanitary point of view. Certainly some little confusion and discontent made itself apparent at the onset, but a little trouble soon made the people acquainted with the different routes appointed to take them to and from the 'ghaut,' as well as the object of the latrines which had been prepared for them on different parts of the ground. The names of Major Watson and Mr. Robertson, the magistrate of Saharunpore, with those of other officers, will long be remembered, and will spread far and wide, as the 'pundits' have made a note in their books of all officers' names. This vast crowd is fast dispersing, praising the *British raj*, and crying out '*Watson, sahib ke jye*,' for the ease and convenience they little expected to find, as it is notorious that no 'Coomb fair' has yet taken place that has not been attended with loss of life and sickness."

The arrangements which reflected so much credit upon the officials were successful in preventing disease as long as

the concourse remained subject to them ; but the moment the fair broke up, and the pilgrims commenced their return march, their route, diverging as it did into thousands of different directions, was tracked with disease. Cholera broke out, and all Upper India was threatened with a tremendous visitation of the scourge, carried, as it was feared it would be, by the pilgrims into every large city, into thousands of villages, along every high road.

The report of the Sanitary Commission for 1867 deals exhaustively with the subject of the origin and spread of cholera in and by the Hurdwar fair. The progress of the disease is traced from station to station, from city to city, and the conclusion is inevitable that its *dissemination* was due to the fair, and the pilgrims returning from it. At any rate this is undoubtedly the case within certain limits. In all the cities of the North-West of India, and the southern portions of the Punjab, the progress of the disease is clearly traceable. It would only be natural that the further we get from the source the fainter should become the track of the great destroyer ; and, accordingly, when we get to Peshawur and to some of the trans-Indus towns, the ostensible connexion is so slight that many altogether deny that the outbreak in these places, at any rate, had any connexion with the fair.

It is well known that during the actual existence of the fair itself the pilgrims were remarkably healthy. It was wonderful, considering what an immense mass of human beings had collected on one spot, that there was so little disease among them. It was only when the gathering was over, and the pilgrims had set about returning to their homes, that the disease appeared in any formidable shape. Up to the 12th April, according to the returns from the dispensaries and hospitals, there were not more than one in two thousand sick. All the medical officers concur as to the remarkable immunity from sickness. As far as can be ascertained there was no case of cholera till the 13th April, and on that day eight cases were sent to hospital. But

from noon on the 12th the vast multitude had begun to depart. The 12th, the last day, was the great day for bathing, which concluded the ceremonies, and the pilgrims were then at liberty to return to their homes. By the evening of the 15th they had all left.

It is highly probable that the disease received its first stimulus on the last day, when the great ceremony of ablution took place. The bathing-place was a space 650 feet long, by about 30 wide, shut off from the rest of the river by rails. Into this long, narrow enclosure the pilgrims from all parts of the encampment crowded as closely as possible from morning till sunset. The water within the space was during the whole time thick and dirty, partly from the ashes of the dead brought by surviving relatives to be deposited in the sacred waters, and partly from the washing of the clothes and bodies of the bathers. The custom is for the pilgrims to dip themselves three times into the liquid filth (water it can no longer be called), and then, oh horror! to drink it! This part of the ceremony is never omitted; and when two or more members of a family bathe together, each from his own hand gives to the other water to drink. And the reciprocal offerings of water take place between friends as well as relatives, the drinking being accompanied by vows of love, and fidelity, and friendship. The quantity of water thus imbibed varies, but it is never less than about as much as can be taken up by the palms of two hands held together so as to form a cup, *and usually several cupfuls are drunk*.¹

It appears, further, that a place called Bazpore, near Hurdwar, was infected with cholera at the time, and the people from the adjacent places do not come to the fair till the very last. It is therefore quite possible that some pilgrims with the seeds of the disease upon them might have come to the fair the last day, and taken part in this

¹ See Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Governor-General for 1867.

final bathing, and every subsequent phenomenon that took place is thus accounted for. The disease broke out the following day.

The report is accompanied by a map showing the different places between the Himalayas and Peshawur at which the cholera made its appearance, and the date—in almost every instance, a day or so subsequent to the entry or passage of some pilgrims through the place, except at Peshawur, and Bunnoo (where, however, it is said to have been introduced from Kangra), Dera Ismael Khan, Jhung, Murree, Huzara, and Simla (where it is traced to a traveller, not necessarily a pilgrim).

It is to be noticed, however, that Dr. Brydon, "who has studied," as the report says, "the general facts of the actual distribution of cholera in India with an industry and research which have been unsurpassed," does not agree with the opinion that the outbreak originated with the Hurdwar pilgrims. As early as the 25th February, judging from his experience of general laws that appear to regulate the phenomena of cholera, he predicted an epidemic in 1867, at Hurdwar, and over Kumaon and Ghurwal in April and May. He drew attention at that early period to the probability of a distribution of cholera parallel with that of 1857-8 and 1862. Dr. Brydon's anticipation proved correct, but the fact does not militate against the theory of the dissemination of cholera over the whole country by means of the pilgrims.

If the general reader, with the average knowledge of Indian history which is attained by most educated people in England, were asked what were the characteristics and prevailing features of Indian history, he would at once reply, military operations. Yet a review of the past nine years, so far as we have gone, will leave in the mind of the reader the impression of a series of natural catastrophes,—a succession of floods, famines, and epidemics rather than of military operations. Nature appears to be ever holding a scourge of some kind over the country, and applying it

year by year with merciless severity upon some portion or other of the vast continent. During the period India has been partially free from war, and it is seldom visited by severe earthquakes, but the destructive effects of famine and pestilence and flood are much greater than those resulting from either of the former visitations, terrible as they undoubtedly are. Nor is the record even yet complete. While the rapid and extensive spread of cholera after the Hurdwar fair was carrying consternation into every bazaar and every garrison all over Upper India, Calcutta was visited with another cyclone, not quite so terrible as the great hurricane of 1864, but very destructive and very awful to witness. It occurred on the 1st November, and the conflict of the elements was in one sense more appalling than on the last occasion, as it took place in the darkness of the night. The centre of the storm passed to the east of Saugor Point, and swept round the north of Calcutta. Indications of the approaching disturbance were observed early in the morning of the 1st. At Calcutta the wind was from the north-east, and shortly after dark it became fitful and threatening, the gusts gaining gradually in strength until they reached their maximum between 2 and 3 A.M. of the 2d. The loss of life was not nearly so great as on the last occasion, although the hurricane of 1867 was also accompanied by the storm-wave which destroyed the tramway belonging to the Canning Company, and carried off about 2,000 feet of metal from the roadway, besides committing other ravages along the coast. The police-reports returned about a thousand lives as having been lost in and about Calcutta, including women and children ; two ferry-steamers were destroyed, sixty-seven cargo-boats, and between four and five hundred boats of other kinds. Some thirty thousand huts were levelled to the ground, and about two hundred brick houses blown down. The shipping escaped with comparatively few disasters. The passenger-ship the *Blenheim*, which was at the time making its way up the Bay of Bengal, and was

dismasted by the storm, was able to put into Coconada to refit.

It remains to say a few words about the discussions on the proposed railway schemes that took place this year, and the condition of the Bank of Bombay.

In marking out great lines of railway across a continent, it often happens that the calculations and forecastings of the wisest men are at fault. Every consideration that can be urged seems to indicate a certain line of country as the one which should be selected for a projected railway; experience gained after it has been completed shows that it would have been more advantageous to have adopted a different route. This has been the case even in England; it has been the case to a certain extent in India.

The outlines of Lord Dalhousie's great scheme were to connect Calcutta with Delhi by a line up the valley of the Ganges, prolonged from Delhi through the Punjab to Attock on the Indus, which is within fifty miles of Peshawur. A second line was to run from Bombay through Baroda to Agra, thus connecting Upper India with the western seaboard and Europe. In the Madras Presidency he recommended a line across the peninsula to Beypore, a seaport on the western coast, and another to the north-west to unite with a south-eastern line from Bombay.

The first of these schemes has been carried out by the East India Railway Company, whose line runs from Calcutta to Delhi, and the Madras and Beypore line has also been completed. The Madras railway is to join the Great Indian Peninsular from Bombay at Sholapore, about half-way between the two seaports. Great expectations were at one time formed of Beypore as a seaport, which experience has not borne out, but the railway is not altogether thrown away, as it passes by the foot of the Neilgherries, the great sanatorium of the Southern Presidency. From Delhi, the Punjab and Delhi railways will be, by the time these pages come before the public, open as far as Umballa, a large military cantonment, near a city of that

name, the head-quarters of the Sirhind division, and within fifty miles of the foot of the Himalayas in the direction of the hill-stations of Dagshai, Subathoo, and Simla. From Umballa northwards there is a break as far as the river Beas, in the Jullundur Dooab; but from the Beas, all the way passing the cities of Umritsur and Lahore, there is unbroken railway communication to Mooltan. Below Mooltan to a place called Kotree, on the Indus, opposite Hyderabad in Scinde, there is another hiatus. This part of the journey has to be made by the steam flotilla, and occupies about three weeks in ascending the stream from Kotree to Mooltan, and about a third of that time descending. From Kotree to Kurrachee the Scind railway has been complete for some years.

From Bombay the Bombay and Baroda line runs up northwards *viâ* Baroda to Ahmedabad. And the Great Indian Peninsular connects Bombay with Nagpore, on the border of the great cotton-fields of the Central Provinces; the main branch of this line is eventually to meet the East India line at Jubbulpore, when there will be direct communication between Allahabad, on the Ganges, and the Western Presidency. This line will be open probably in 1870. At present, the traveller wending his way across the continent of India has to exchange the railway at Jubbulpore for a carriage, in which he travels over a splendid road and with great facility to Nagpore, where he meets the rail again. This line is a divergence from Lord Dalhousie's original plan, which was to connect Upper India and Bombay by the Agra and Bombay line. After much discussion he was persuaded to change this project, and to adopt instead a line across the continent, striking the Ganges at Mirzapore, a little below Allahabad, and eventually it was resolved upon making Allahabad the point of junction.

In this grand scheme two mistakes were made. The East Indian line ought to have been made direct from

Calcutta to Benares, instead of following the valley of the Ganges, and the route first marked out between Agra and Bombay ought to have been maintained. That part of the original design, the extension of railway communication to Attock, a most important section in a political point of view, was abandoned. Thus two great centres of communication remain to be connected,—the Western Presidency direct with Northern India, and the extreme Northern frontier at Peshawur and Attock with Lahore. Three lines were projected: one the extension of the Bombay and Baroda line to Agra, which would thus become the direct channel of communication between Upper India, the Western Coast, and Europe, the saving in distance by the adoption of the direct route, as compared with that *via* Allahabad and Jubbulpore, being enormous; the second, a line from Lahore to Peshawur; and the third, a line connecting Kotree on the Indus, the terminus of the Lower Scind railway, with Mooltan.

The subject was much discussed during the year in the papers, and a very able minute was penned by Sir Bartle Frere, who pointed out that of these three lines, two of them, at any rate, were quite distinct, and might fairly be entered upon together. Sir John Lawrence was not very favourably disposed towards either, but strongly deprecated the construction of more than one.

The question was disposed of by the Secretary of State in a minute dated the 7th March, 1867, who decided that complete surveys for the Rajpootana line, or the extension of the Bombay and Baroda line, which was to connect the western coast with Upper India by a junction at Agra and Delhi, should be carried out at once; the other scheme remaining in abeyance. Political considerations have, however, subsequently led to a modification of the policy; the survey of the Rajpootana line has been suspended, and the necessity of speedily completing the connexion between Peshawur and Lahore and Mooltan fully recognised.

To show with what caution the recommendations of Indian officials, as to the selection of routes for railways, ought to be received, it may be mentioned that the adoption of a line west of the Aravelli range between Ajmere and Delhi, for the Bombay and Baroda extension, has been recently urged on Government. The route traverses enormous wastes of loose sand, where there is neither water, nor vegetation, nor human habitation. The chief argument in its favour is the absence of engineering difficulties, but anything more than a mere superficial acquaintance with the subject would show that an engineering difficulty of a grave and, as far as experience has gone, of an insuperable character does exist. In these deserts, the sands shift under the influence of winds prevailing regularly from one quarter. In this way huge hillocks are formed in parallel rows, like ranges of little mountains, a feature with which most travellers in Asia and Africa are familiar, and this moving sand is about the most formidable enemy the engineer or the architect can encounter, for in the course of time it even buries whole cities, a fate which would speedily overtake a railway, with all its accompanying buildings in the solitudes of Bikaner. Art, in the person of the railway engineer, has conquered nature in the obstacles offered by rivers, by valleys, even by mountains; but in the wide expanse of comparatively level plains of sand, nature is still supreme, and the traveller who would cross the lonely tracts of Bikaner must be content to journey by the old-fashioned ship of the desert, whose domains will not be invaded by the iron horse for many years yet.

The following table shows the extent of the main lines of railway completed, and the amount of guaranteed capital up to the date of the Report, 1867-8 :—

LINES.	Extent, Miles.	Guaranteed Capital.	No. of Miles to be completed.
		£	
1. East Indian	1,501 ³ / ₄	28,650,000	145
2. Great Indian Peninsular . . .	1,266 ³ / ₄	19,000,000	393
3. Madras	825	10,000,000	180
4. Scind, including Punjab and Delhi	675	10,624,000	266
5. Oude and Rohilcund	672	4,000,000	630
6. Bombay and Baroda	312 ¹ / ₂	7,500,000	6 ¹ / ₂
7. Great Southern of India . . .	160 ¹ / ₂	1,350,000	—
8. Eastern Bengal	159	2,662,000	45
9. Calcutta and South Eastern . .	29	600,000	—

In one or two instances, the figures in the third column, which shows the number of miles to be completed at the date of the Report, must be slightly modified before they can be taken to represent the existing condition of the work.

The story of the decline and fall of the Bank of Bombay will only be fully disclosed by the publication of the report of the committee of inquiry; and from what has already transpired during the progress of the investigation, it is to be feared that the disclosure will form one of the most disgraceful episodes in the commercial history of India. The temporary failure of the Agra and Masterman's Bank, in 1866, occasioned much distress among a vast number of old officers, widows, and families, whose savings were either invested or deposited there. But if the reckless trading that caused the temporary stoppage of the bank was discreditable to those who were entrusted with the management of its affairs, the speedy resuscitation of the institution evinced and justified the confidence of the public. But the Bank of Bombay was founded on a basis that attracted a far greater share of public confidence than would have been given to a mere private firm, and the trust therefore which the directors held was all the more onerous, and its breach all the more reprehensible. No doubt the public, who do not often take the

pains to inquire closely into the legal status of banks and companies they deal with, were under an impression which was in a great degree a false one, that the Government in reality were responsible for their deposits and investments. The Government were large shareholders, and were well represented in the direction; and although nothing can possibly excuse the moral delinquency of the officials who could so shamefully abuse such trust, it is another question altogether how far the State can be held legally responsible for the losses. Such a connexion as that which the Government of India has with the Presidency banks is not altogether free from objection. The Government ought either to be in a position to control their operations altogether, in which case, of course, it would be responsible to the public who invested in them, or it ought to have nothing whatever to say to their management. The position it held, or, which is much the same thing morally, the position it was supposed to hold in Bombay, was especially a false one, because it will not make itself responsible to those who confided in the bank on the strength of its State connexion. It will be interesting to note the opinions of some eminent authorities on this subject. In July 1867, Sir John Lawrence wrote: "I submit that the circumstances which have led to the ruin of the Bank of Bombay resulted from the neglect of obvious and reasonable precautions at a time of unprecedented temptation, and that if care had been taken in the selection of the Government directors, as well as in their supervision, that Bank would have surmounted all its difficulties, just as those of Bengal and Madras have done." This, in plainer words, is putting the blame of the failure on Sir Bartle Frere, for not selecting proper men for the direction, and not overlooking them after their appointment.

The *Friend of India*, which reflects faithfully Sir John Lawrence's views, speaks out more plainly. "To Sir Bartle Frere," it says, "or to his sanction, we owe that charter of 1864, which by doubling the capital of the

Bank added fuel to the flame which allowed advances on bubble shares, and, by permitting more than three lacs of rupees to be lent to individuals on personal security, created the scandals with which Bombay is still ringing." And again, "If Sir Cecil Beadon is responsible for the Orissa disaster, the late Governor of Bombay is more directly so for the moral and pecuniary ruin of Bombay."

Sir William Mansfield candidly confesses: "Having myself been a member of the Bombay Government during the years immediately preceding 1865, I am able to bear personal testimony to the manner in which a local Government can hardly fail to be carried along by such a movement as was witnessed in this year. It is too much to expect from human judgment, that when placed in the midst of such circumstances it should not be influenced by the swelling tide around, which is felt alike by every man and in every thing, and to take advantage of which in the public interest cannot fail to be the object of every Government."

Mr. Massey speaks more to the point. He says: "It would be understating the case to say, that the position of the Bank of Bombay was and is that of an insolvent whose liabilities are covered by a responsible guarantor. A guarantee would extend only to the debts of the partnership. But the Government, by the course it pursued, went much further than this. In the summer of 1865, the Bank was hard pressed; its shares fell below par. But no sooner was it announced that the Bank was supported by the unlimited credit of Government than the depositors brought back the balances they had withdrawn, and the shares rose to sixty per cent. premium. At that time the Bank had absolutely lost half its capital, and had two millions sterling of outstanding debts, which have since proved to be worthless. Thus, in consequence of the action of the Government, the public were induced to repose confidence in an establishment which was unworthy of confidence, and to give 160% for property which was

not worth more than 25%. But could the Government have refrained from interference? could they have taken any other course than they did take? I think not. They were [partners in the Bank; they were directors of the Bank. The difficulties (since ascertained to have been the ruin) of the Bank had been mainly caused by the culpable remissness of those Government directors. Sir W. Mansfield admits this to be the fact. But when his Excellency blames the Government directors, he blames the Government itself, which must be responsible for the acts of officers and nominees."

It would serve no purpose to recapitulate the discussions that went on through the whole of 1867, and the schemes which were proposed and rejected for the resuscitation of the Bank of Bombay, for its amalgamation with the Banks of Bengal and Madras,—measures stoutly and effectually resisted by the prudent counsels of the Madras Presidency; of the establishment of an agency of the Bank of Bengal at Bombay; and of the final relinquishment of the water-logged vessel to its fate, and the launching of a new one under better auspices. The committee of inquiry was not formed till a year later, and did not commence its sittings till the summer of 1868.

The principle enunciated by Sir John Lawrence was a sound one. The head of a Government must be held liable to some extent for the failure of the officers he appoints.

The excuse pleaded by Sir William Mansfield will not be admitted for a moment, for it is obvious that the same principle would justify the bloody assize of Judge Jeffreys, the atrocities of the French Revolution, or the barbarities exercised under the "No Popery" cry in the time of Titus Oates.

CHAPTER XIII.

1868.

Disturbances in Kattyawar—History of the Waghurs—Military operations—Mahommedan disaffection—Revolution in Muscat—Expedition to Yunan—Breaking up of the Chinese Empire—Affghanistan—The Oude and Punjab Tenancy Bills—The Bank of Bombay scandal—Progress of public works—Barracks—Fortresses—Security of the Empire—Railway progress—Failure of private enterprise—Earl Mayo arrives—Sir John Lawrence's administration.

THE freedom from political disturbances and military operations which, as a general rule, characterises the history of the Indian administration from 1859, appears to have ceased with the close of 1867. In the latter end of that year an affray of rather a serious character, which was attended by the loss of some valuable lives, occurred with the Waghurs on the Western Coast in the Bombay Presidency.

At the extreme west of the peninsula of Saurashtra, or Kattyawar—itself the remotest province of India on the south-west—is an insulated point of land, called appropriately enough, Jugut Coont (land's end). On this island, comprising, together with the adjoining islet of Beyt in the Gulf of Cutch, the district of Okhamundel, stands the town of Dwarka, on the bold sea-coast; and on the most commanding eminence of the town is built the great temple of Krishna. That it is the holiest and most ancient of all the shrines consecrated to this divinity, may be inferred from another name for Krishna in the Hindoo mythology being Dwarkanath, or "Lord of Dwarka."

With reference to the remote situation of this celebrated temple, I may remark, in passing, on the strange superstition which has placed all the most sacred shrines of the Hindoos in the remotest and most inaccessible localities, as if to enhance, by material difficulties and dangers, the merit of the pilgrimages enjoined by their religion. The Hindoo shrines at Budrinath, Kidarnath, Gungootree, Jumnootree, are situated in the most inaccessible heights of the far Himalaya. Other shrines, in different parts of India, will occur to the reader who has any local experience to illustrate this remark. So dangerous was the approach to Budrinath especially, that hundreds of pilgrims perished annually on the way, till the British Government, pitying the superstition it¹ could deplore but not control, constructed the pilgrim road leading from Hurdwar up the valley of the Alakanundee and Guneshgunga, to that holy of holies, the main source of the Ganges.

The temple of Dwarka being so sacred a shrine attracted thousands of pilgrims annually, high and low, from all parts of India. The Waghurs who possessed it, as also the adjoining shrine at Beyt, appeared to have lived from time immemorial in idle dependence on its endowments and the votive offerings of the pilgrims. When these failed, or time hung on their hands, they are said to have followed piracy for diversion or profit—a course for which their position, at the mouth of the Gulf of Cutch commanding the approach from the Arabian sea, afforded peculiar facilities. The first attempt we know of to reduce the tribe to order was in 1809, when Colonel Walker was sent against them with a force, and defeating them after a stout resistance, decreed a certain sum against the tribe in compensation for their depredations. In 1815 the district of Okhamundel was sold to the Guicowar on payment among other purchase-moneys of the amount of compensation above referred to, which we had been unable to realize. The acquisition of so barren a district was valued by the Guicowar solely for the honour of becoming the patron

of the celebrated shrine. But the Waghurs did not approve of the transfer. After giving the Guicowar's officers much trouble, they defeated his troops, and turned out his Governor, thus re-possessing themselves of their strongholds and profitable shrines. As we had sold the district to the Guicowar, and been duly paid, we appear to have considered it necessary to reinstate his rule by force of arms. This was accomplished in 1820 by the employment of a force under Colonel Stanhope, but not without having to make an assault on Dwarka; in an ineffectual attempt to repel which the Waghur chief, Mooloo Manik, fell like Tippoo at Seringapatam, in the breach. After the mutinies of 1857, Okhamundel was re-transferred by the Guicowar to the British, and the fact of our having immediately to move a force against the Waghurs, and make the desperate assaults on Beyt and Dwarka, was proof sufficient, that during the long interval the district had remained under the Guicowar, he had wholly failed, even if he had attempted, to reduce to obedience that lawless tribe.

These people never wholly abandoned their restless and predatory habits; and whether under an idea that the vigilance of the British Government was relaxed, or that it had grown tired of coercion, or acting under some of those sudden impulses which occasionally drive half-savage races into wanton and fatal excesses, for the last year they had been incessantly giving trouble, plundering villages, and slaughtering inoffensive villagers. Accordingly, the Political Agent, Colonel Anderson, took the field against them with a small force of forty cavalry and thirty British infantry, with a native contingent, accompanied by his two assistants, Captains La Touche and Hibbert.

After marching some distance across the country, Colonel Anderson obtained information of the enemy being within twelve miles of his camp, and leaving the infantry to follow, the officers, accompanied by Captain Reynolds of the 17th, and the mounted portion of the little force, set off, and

after riding a considerable distance reached the foot of an isolated hill some three hundred feet high, upon the summit of which the outlaws were said to have taken up a strong position. The cavalry could not act upon such ground, so the party awaited the arrival of the infantry, who came up in about half an hour. The attack was then made: Captain La Touche, followed by a party of sepoys, gallantly assailed the position of the enemy from one direction, while Major Reynolds and Captain Hibbert ascended the hill on two opposite sides. Captain Hibbert was the first to cut down a Waghur chief, but was himself mortally wounded immediately after, being shot through the spine. Captain La Touche also fell in a hand-to-hand encounter while in the act of despatching the fourth of the outlaws he had slain with his own hand. Major Reynolds was dangerously wounded. Dearly purchased, the victory was complete; out of twenty-five desperate men, seventeen were slain, and two taken prisoners, but the success was a poor compensation for the loss of two such valuable officers as Captains La Touche and Hibbert.

A few months later, in February 1868, a body of rebellious Bheels were defeated by Captain Macleod, with parties of the 28th and 6th regiments of Bombay Native Infantry, and some of the Guicowar's horse. And shortly afterwards, on the further confines of the British Indian Empire, near Kohat, a gallant young officer, Captain Ruxton, lost his life in an encounter with one of the frontier tribes, the Bezooties, against whom a force had taken the field. The issue of the combat had been a little doubtful; but our troops vastly outnumbered the enemy, who were however strongly posted in such a position that it was extremely difficult to dislodge them. Captain Ruxton, carried away by excitement and youthful ardour, ventured rashly and against orders upon the ground held by the enemy, where he was killed, and his body left in their possession. They subsequently restored it to his friends.

Later in the year it was deemed necessary to assemble a considerable force on the North-west frontier, under General Wylde; and a regular campaign against certain tribes, occupying a large hilly region, called the Black Mountain, was undertaken. This being a military operation of some magnitude will be related in the chapter devoted to military operations on the North-west frontier.

It is somewhat curious that the symptoms of disaffection which accompanied the Umbeyla campaign of 1863-64, should have shown themselves in connexion with the Black Mountain campaign of 1868. There has been a repetition of the same activity among the Wahabee Mussulmen of the more southern part of India, especially in Bengal and the neighbourhood of Patna, which in 1863-64 eventuated in a regularly organized transmission of recruits and supplies from many of the principal cities of Bengal, even as far south as Dacca, to support the cause of the trans-Indus Mahommedan fanatics in arms against the British Government. And generally throughout India, during the year under review, there has been an active proselytizing spirit abroad, both among Hindoos and Mahommedans, itinerant preachers of both these religions having been constantly noticed in the bazaars and streets of large cities, preaching much as missionaries do, to any of the passers-by who may be disposed to listen. The feature is peculiar, because, generally speaking, neither Hindoos nor Mahommedans exhibit any proselytizing tendencies.

As on the former occasion in 1863-64, the conspirators made use of the ready-made machinery our commissariat system provided them with, to carry out their designs, passing men and money up to the frontier in the guise of commissariat *employés* and bills on commissariat agents, so now it appears they resolved to avail themselves of the means which modern civilization places within their reach, and established dépôts conveniently situated as regards the railways for the transmission of recruits and contributions.

The history of the Abyssinian expedition is foreign to the plan of this work. The preparations for the part which India took in it, however, for a while awakened almost as much interest in military matters as if the whole expedition had been an Indian campaign. It was not till the 9th of January of this year that the rear of the Bengal brigade left the Hooghly under Brigadier-General Stewart, with the mountain train battery and the last of the Bengal cavalry. But although the Abyssinian war, except for the share the army of India took in it, is unconnected with the history of that country, the state of affairs in the Persian Gulf, and the revolution in Muscat, can hardly with propriety be passed over. Some acquaintance with this subject is also desirable, because, unlike the Abyssinian campaign, matters in the Persian Gulf are very far from having reached the climax where our interest in them may cease, and a knowledge of the political complications that preceded the recent revolution will enable the reader to understand the object of any future operations which England may undertake in that quarter.

The "blue waters" of Oman, immortalized by the muse of the Irish bard, are subject to the sway of the Imam of Muscat. Early in the present century we were engaged, in conjunction with Syad Said, the then Imam, in waging war against the Wahabee pirates, who interfered with the commerce of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, and ever since that time we have preserved friendly relations with the successor of the Syad. The venerable old chief, after a reign which extended over half a century, was gathered to his fathers in 1856, leaving several sons, one of whom became ruler of Zanzibar and another succeeded his father on the throne of Muscat. His name was Thowaynee. After these arrangements had been completed, the two brothers of Muscat and Zanzibar fell out, the Sultan of Muscat claiming a tribute from his brother of Zanzibar. This tribute had no doubt formerly been paid by the ruler of the latter country to the Imam of Muscat: and the

brothers not being able to settle their differences, agreed to refer them for arbitration to Lord Canning. This nobleman being the referee—as if he had not enough to claim his attention in India—gave a decision, calculated, as he supposed, to content both parties. He ruled that Zanzibar should be independent of Muscat, but that the tribute should be paid.

So matters went on till 1865, when the Sultan of Muscat was murdered, it was supposed by his own son, Selim, who, after a nominal acquittal of the guilt of parricide by the chiefs and people, was raised to the throne, and the British Government being but little concerned in the matter of the guilt or innocence of the new sultan acknowledged his authority. His uncle of Zanzibar, however, deemed it a good opportunity for crying off the tribute, and receiving some countenance from the Shah of Persia, declined to pay it any longer. The Shah had for many years allowed the Imams of Muscat to occupy for trading purposes the port known as Bunder Abbas, on payment of a certain tribute. In short, the Imam rented the port on a sort of lease, but he had been a tenant for so long that he claimed at last rights of occupancy ; and the Shah, although he would have been glad to dislodge him so as to resume the harbour, did not know very well how to set about it, for he had no marine that could cope with that of Muscat. Pretending, however, a righteous horror at the alleged parricide of the reigning Sultan, he declared his lease of Bunder Abbas forfeited and prepared to seize the place, while the Imam, on the other hand, threatened a blockade. At this juncture the British Government were obliged to interfere to protect their own interests, which palpably would be better served by keeping the ruler of Muscat in possession of so important a marine port as Bunder Abbas, and they refused to allow the Shah to obtain possession of the coveted harbour. The question of the tribute was under discussion when news was received of another revolution in Muscat, Sultan Selim having been driven from his throne by his

brother-in-law, Azan ibn Ghas, who took the capital by assault with little trouble.

This was the condition of affairs at the close of 1868 and the commencement of 1869. It may be remarked that Muscat is a place of some importance, as it commands the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and our policy will probably be directed to maintaining, as it has always done, the authority of the *de facto* sovereign.

The reader is now solicited to follow me across the continent of India to the extreme eastern limit of British dominion, where the noble river, the Irrawaddy, flows through the forests and swamps of Burmah. Upon its bank, in the dominions of Burmah Proper, is the capital city of Mandalay. Following the course of the river up the stream, to the north of Mandalay is another city, marked in large letters on the map, called Bhamo.

In former years a brisk trade existed between Yunan, the south-western province of China, and Burmah, and of late years a desire has often been expressed to re-open, if possible, the long-choked-up channels of commercial intercourse. With the view of collecting the necessary information regarding the physical geography of the intervening country, and the disposition of the inhabitants there, and in the province of Yunan, Captain Sladen was despatched early in the year at the head of a small party of explorers, to make his way from Bhamo to Momein, the first city of importance on the route, in Yunan, and if possible to the capital of the province, Tali. After a great deal of trouble, and after overcoming many obstacles and difficulties, which were chiefly due to the treachery and jealousy of the King of Burmah and his people, Captain Sladen accomplished the purpose for which he had been sent, and returned in September, having left in January, after penetrating as far as Momein. His further progress to the capital was barred by the disturbed state of the country, over which the Chinese imperial troops were swarming, nominally engaged in resisting the progress of the revo-

lutionary party in Yunnan. The officials at Momein received him most courteously, and expressed themselves most anxious that the old trade should be restored. They entertained him and his suite with the utmost hospitality, and his return journey was accompanied with none of the difficulties and deprivations that our treacherous ally, the King of Burmah, had contrived to throw in his path before.

There can be little doubt that the Chinese empire is disintegrating. Apart from the rebellion of the Taepings, several other movements of a similar kind have been in progress for years past, though very little has been known about them in Europe. One of these, and not the least important, has been brought to light owing to the proximity of the Russian forces to the territories where the revolutionary spirit has been at work, and a missing link in the chain of events has been supplied by the information collected and forwarded to the Government of India by the Political Resident at Leh, together with that furnished by Mr. Johnson, who was an uncovenanted *employé* of the Indian Government engaged in the survey under Major Montgomerie, and who incurred the displeasure of his superiors by penetrating without orders as far as Khoten. The revolution effected in Western China has been mainly a Mahommedan movement. There is a little uncertainty as to the events which led to the settlement of Mahommedans in Western China, but it appears to have originated in a Mahommedan contingent sent at the request of two successive Emperors of China,¹ in the eighth century, by the Caliphs of Bagdad. When the work for which their aid was solicited and supplied had been accomplished, a portion of the contingent, either as a grant in lieu of pay, or in reward for services rendered, were allowed to settle in one of the provinces of Western China. Here they flourished, and multiplied. The descendants of these men, who are called by the Burmese, Panthays, claim an Arabic origin; and the more learned among them still cultivate that

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, March 1868.

language, not only as the language of their religious services, but as the medium of polite communication. This would seem to indicate a difference of origin between these people, who belong to the southern districts of Western China, and the Mussulmans of Northern China and Eastern Toorkistan, who are clearly of Toork descent.

The Panthays, or Mahommedans of Arabic descent in the South-West, are of the sect of Soonees. It is supposed they took advantage of the progress of the Taeping rebellion in 1855 to assert their own independence, which they succeeded in establishing, now twelve years ago, and have maintained ever since. In 1857, vague rumours were abroad of a great Mahommedan movement somewhere in the unknown regions to the eastward of our eastern frontier, which it was suggested, might have some connexion with the Mahommedan element of strife then active in India. But there appears to be no foundation for the report, for the Mussulman rebellion in China commenced two years before the mutiny occurred in India. Success attended the effort. The imperial troops were everywhere defeated, and the new Mahommedan kingdom was established under a sovereign called by 'the Mussulmans themselves Suleiman, by the Chinese Tuwintsen. He assumed all the signs and symbols of imperial sovereignty, and was assisted in the government by a council of eight (four military and four civil) ministers. The administration is conducted much on the old Chinese model; taxation is light, consisting principally of moderate assessment on land.

One curious result of this change of rule has been the total cessation of traffic that formerly existed between this part of China and Burmah. It will be recollected that a project for a railway connecting Rangoon with Western China was recently set on foot, and it now appears that, had it not been found impracticable owing to physical obstacles, and the difficulty of obtaining labour in the tract of country through which the proposed rail-

way would have had to be constructed, the results aimed at would not have been attained, in consequence of the policy adopted by the King or Emperor Suleiman, who, true to Chinese prejudices imbibed during the connexion of the country with the celestial empire, forbade his subjects to engage in trade with outside barbarians.

The exclusiveness of the Chinese is, however, rapidly wearing off, and accounts go to show that no impediment is now offered to a European traveller provided with proper passports. A similar influence appears to have guided the counsels of the Yunan government in their acceptance of Captain Sladen's proposal to renew the traffic so long closed.

While the southern part of Western China was thus becoming disintegrated from the dominions of the Emperor of Peking, the northern portion of it also, which is bounded on the west by Thibet, was slipping from his grasp. Very little is known even now about the progress of the rebellion in this portion of what was the Chinese empire. The reader may recollect the expedition undertaken by Colonel Sarel some years ago, which penetrated within 150 miles of Ching-tu-fu, and then was forced to return in consequence of the whole country being in a disorganized state from rebellion. This rebellion must be still making head, as Jung Bahadoor's embassy, which started from Khatmandoo in August 1866, was unable to reach the capital, and forced to return to Nepal, in consequence of the country being in such an unsettled state. After crossing the Chinese frontier, a message reached the ambassador from Peking, desiring him not to proceed, as the journey was impracticable, but to exchange the royal presents at the frontier town and return. This rebellion is not a Mahommedan movement, as was that in the Southern Province, although it is supposed there are a great many Mahommedans mixed up in it. It appears to have arisen from a love of plunder and a desire for independence, advantage being taken of the embarrassment caused to the

Imperial Government by the old Taeping rebellion. That the country has been much desolated by the violence of the rebels appears from the following extract from the report furnished by the Nepalese ambassador:—

“In our journey onwards from the city of Batang, every city we passed through had been destroyed by fire and deserted by the inhabitants : habitations were rarely met with. As far as Lithang the country is in the same bad state, and everything is dear. . . . The war has now lasted nine years, and the country is in a miserable condition.”

To the northward, again, of this tract of country lies a vast territory, comprising Eastern Toorkistan and Dungana, the desert of Gobi, and the Chinese provinces of Kansu and Shensi, inhabited mostly by a race of Mahomedans called Toonganies or Dungeas. They are Soonees, like the Mussulmans of the Lower Provinces, and in their observance of the tenets of the Koran exhibit considerable enthusiasm. They are completely under the influence of their Imams or Akhoonds, even in secular affairs. They are remarkable for their abstinence from spirituous liquors, opium, and tobacco ; but in temper they are passionate and overbearing, and unhappily addicted to the use of the knife in the settlement of their disputes with one another. But they have the character of being industrious and honest in commercial dealings. They had a great antipathy to the Imperial Government of the Manchoo dynasty, which feeling was not lessened by various measures designed to coerce them into subjection, and which, as might have been expected, had the very contrary effect : such were imperial decrees subjecting them to heavy taxation, requiring the men to wear the hated pigtail, and the women to compress their feet into the dimensions prescribed by Chinese fashion.

Long smouldering, the spirit of rebellion burst into open flame first in 1862. The Imperial forces were despatched to suppress the outbreak with the usual result, and the insurrection spreading, the enthusiasm of the Mahom-

medan population was everywhere aroused by the well-known artifice of preaching a holy war. The emissaries despatched to proclaim the "jehad" went to work with a will, "and ere long there was not a town in the two provinces where the mosque had not rung with their passionate exhortations."¹

It is hardly necessary to repeat that the rebellion was successful. And from the seat of its origin it rapidly spread over a very large tract of country, designated by names of provinces, cities, and mountains altogether unknown to and unrecognisable by the general reader, until the tide of revolution washed up as far as Yarkund and Kashgur, names with which we are all of us more or less familiar. At Yarkund the rebels speedily drove the Chinese troops into the fort, and there besieged them. At Kashgur, the commandant of the Imperial troops adopted a bloody stratagem with the view of destroying his enemies. He invited the Toonganies to a feast in the fort, and while they were doing justice to his hospitality he opened upon them a volley of musketry, which destroyed the whole of the guests except fifty, seven hundred having been invited. This atrocity was the signal for all the Mahommedan population of Kashgur to fly to arms, and the result was that the Imperial troops, with their treacherous commander, were shut up in the fort. Almost at the same time a similar tragedy was enacted at Khoten, where an attempt was made to massacre the Toonganies, who, however, proved too strong for their assailants; and the latter, having no fort to take refuge in, were totally destroyed, a moolla named Hajee Habeeboolla being raised to the throne of Khoten. The beleaguered garrison of Yarkund, being pressed by fresh reinforcements sent to the aid of the insurgents, set fire to their own magazine, and perished in the conflagration.

Meantime the Chinese troops, in the fort of Kashgur, were as hard pressed as their fellow-soldiers had been at

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, March 1868.

Yarkund. The insurgents were aided by a leader from Kokand, called the Kooshbegee, or commander-in-chief of the Kokand forces, who in 1847 betrayed to the Russian general, in return for a large sum of money, a portion of the territory of Kokand committed to his charge. This man arrived one day at Kashgur, with a following of about five hundred men. The siege was pressed, the garrison was decimated by famine; and in March 1865 the remnant committed suicide, and Yakoob Kooshbegee became master of the place.

The new Mahommedan power thus established in the north-west of China was now divided into three principal factions. In the east one named Rashud-ood-deen—whose rise to fortune space has not allowed me to relate—held sway; in the south reigned Habeeboolla, who, as we have seen, was raised to the throne of Khoten; and at Yarkund, Yakoob Kooshbegee, with the help of his Kokand followers, had seized the reins of government. The first and last of these successful adventurers were the first to come to blows; the third, or the Khoten ruler, standing aloof. And it was at this crisis of the affair that, in October 1865, Mr. Johnson, the first European traveller who, with the exception of M. Adolphe Schlagentweit, had been seen there for centuries, made his appearance at Khoten. The Khan Habeeboolla had sent him an invitation, which he accepted on his own responsibility. For this he incurred the displeasure of the Government, who reprimanded him for placing himself, without orders, in a position which might have led to serious political embarrassment. Much as we may admire the spirit of curiosity and research that induces travellers to venture into unexplored regions, and place themselves in the power of barbarian chiefs and rulers, Englishmen have too lively an impression of the enormous cost of the Abyssinian expedition to countenance acts of rashness in individuals which are calculated to lead to the loss of their own lives, or of the perhaps still more valuable lives of those whom

the country may deem it its duty to despatch to their rescue.

The contest ended in the victory of Yakoob Kooshbegee, who seized Yarkand in April 1860, and reduced to submission a large tract of country, including Khoten; the ill-fated Habeeboolla, Mr. Johnson's host, an old man of upwards of eighty years of age, having been cruelly murdered.

This brief outline of recent events in a large, and to us not unimportant tract of Southern and Central Asia, belongs only indirectly to the history of Indian Administration. It is quite certain, however, so far as we can say that any future event is certain, that the writer who shall record the history of Indian Administration during the ensuing ten years will have much to relate of these countries in connexion with Russian progress and politics, as well as, it is to be hoped, in connexion with an extended trade between India and the Southern and Western provinces of China.

It is worthy of remark that, as the Russian power has approached the limits of the Chinese empire, a revolution, or succession of revolutions, should have come to a head, which have had the effect of bringing them in contact in the next step of their advance with a Mahommedan instead of a Manchoo power. With this new dynasty of Mussulman Chinese the Russians have next to deal, as soon as they have established themselves in the territories recently overrun. But although Mahommedan fanaticism is capable of arousing a martial spirit among races who could not be induced to offer any resistance worth speaking of by any lower motive, and although this instrument will no doubt be freely used* to oppose Russian progress, the check their advance will meet with from the newly-constituted Mussulman kingdom of Western China will be only temporary. If Bokhara, with all its prestige and associations as the seat and centre of Islam in Upper Asia, has failed to kindle a spirit capable of resisting the encroachments of a Christian power, we need not expect

any result but that of a speedy victory from a conflict between the Czar's troops and such a man as Yakoob Kooshbegee. There can be no question but that all who desire to see the extension of civilization and the expansion of trade will find matter for congratulation, rather than alarm, in the establishment of a Christian Government in the room of the crumbling and blood-stained dynasties of Central Asia.

Allusion has been made to M. Adolphe Schlagentweit. He was murdered at Kashgur. It was during the progress of one of the insurgent movements, the outline of whose progress has been just detailed, that the lamented traveller happened to visit the country. One of the bloodthirsty monsters who during that period alternately rose to power, Wulee Khan Turra by name, had gained temporary possession of Kashgur (and memorialized his short reign—for he was soon driven out by the Chinese) by erecting a pyramid of human skulls on the banks of the river. As one after the other the heads of Chinese and Mahommedans were brought to construct the hideous pile, the savage sat and watched its growth. The heads of some of the best and bravest of his own followers were cut off to gratify the whim of the monster, and the head of Adolphe Schlagentweit was taken to crown the apex of the pyramid.

The recent history of Affghanistan, since the death of Dost Mahommed, affords nothing more interesting to the general reader than a succession of internal feuds, battles, and sieges. The outline of events, however, may be thus briefly described. Dost Mahommed died in 1863, after nominating his son, Shere Ally Khan, as his successor. Shere Ally's seat on the throne, however, was insecure, owing to the jealousy of his two brothers: one, Afzul Khan, who was at the head of the Toorkistan army as it was called, that is, the troops quartered in the northern region of Affghanistan; and the other, Azim Khan, who governed the country to the south and east between Cabul and the British frontier. Against both these rivals Shere Ally was

at first successful, having gained possession of Afzul Khan's person by treachery, and driven Azim Khan out of the country. The latter repaired to Rawul Pindee, a town and British settlement in the north of the Punjab, where he resided with a few followers, till another revolution in the political wheel of Affghan affairs enabled him to return. Shere Ally carried his brother, Afzul Khan, a captive to Cabul. The latter, however, fortunately had a son, a chief of some genius and energy, and a favourite with the troops composing the Toorkistan garrison, which his father had for years commanded during the lifetime of Dost Mahommed. Putting himself at their head, he marched on Cabul, dethroned and drove away Shere Ally, liberated his father, and seated him on the vacant throne. Afzul Khan did not live to enjoy for long the royal honours; and on his death was succeeded by Azim Khan, Abdoolrahman Khan, the son of Afzul Khan, generously waiving his rights in favour of his uncle. The uncle and nephew now became fast friends. But Shere Ally was indefatigable in his efforts to regain the throne he had lost; and obtaining assistance—some say from Russia, others from Persia—or depending solely on his own resources, he managed to collect an army, and principally by the genius of his general-officer, Yakoob Ally Khan, fought his way back to Cabul and the throne, which he re-occupied in July 1868. Azim Khan, and his nephew Abdoolrahman, have still a strong party in their favour, and, it is said, the sympathy and secret assistance of Persia. But since the close of the year the Ameer Shere Ally has been received with every demonstration of respect by the Viceroy, Earl Mayo; and although the British Government have not pledged themselves to any line of policy in Central Asian affairs, yet the mere fact of a cordial reception having been given to the Ameer by the British Viceroy has so raised his prestige that, unless the rival claimants to the throne are powerfully aided from some external quarter, they are not likely to succeed in again

dispossessing Shere Ally, who is now both *de jure* and *de facto* sovereign of Affghanistan.

The year 1868 is remarkable for having witnessed, under the administration of Sir John Lawrence, the conclusion of a controversy which for the last century has divided Indian statesmen into two opposing schools. It may be briefly described as the Tenant-right controversy, although many rights, besides those of tenants, were involved in it. The outlines of this dispute are familiar to most readers who take an interest in the modern history of India. To enter fully into it, even to recapitulate, however briefly, the opinions and views which have been set forth by writers on both sides, would occupy volumes. The mass of opinions, in the shape of evidence taken before parliamentary committees, in minutes, and Indian blue-books, &c., which have accumulated upon this much-debated question, is enough to appal the most enthusiastic or most diligent inquirer.

The broad principles upon which land settlements are made in new provinces are laid down in Regulation VII. of 1822, and it is that settlement-officers are to inquire into and record existing rights as they find them. This has ever been the law and procedure. It is somewhat illustrative of Indian legislation, that in 1868 the question should be mooted in Council, as it was in the discussion on the Punjab Tenancy Bill on the 21st October, whether, after the period for which the first settlement was made has expired, the settlement-officers had or had not the power of revising the records of rights made at the first settlement. It is strange that a point so important, striking at the very root of our whole administrative revenue system, should have remained undetermined for forty-six years. The Punjab Tenancy Bill was passed on the 21st October, 1868, and the necessity for the interference of the Legislature with the tenant-right of that province arose in this way. The first settlement having expired—a settlement which Sir John Lawrence not unnaturally upholds as being as perfect

and just a measure on the whole as could be effected—another became necessary ; and it seems that the officers engaged upon it, acting of course under the orders of the local government, considered that they were called upon to take cognizance of claims to rights whether or not they superseded or set aside those recorded at the first settlement. “It appears,” says Mr. Maine, in the debate on the bill, “that in the single division of Umritsur 60,000 heads of households were recorded at the first settlement of the Punjab as entitled to beneficial rights of occupancy. At the recent settlement 46,000 of these cultivators have been degraded to the status of tenants at will. If the same proportion be maintained for the whole province, these numbers denote some hundreds of thousands. It would appear, however, from a minute of the Chief Court of the Punjab, that though the settlement-officers employed the Settlement Regulation of 1822 to produce these formidable results, they did not think fit to follow the prescribed procedure, but have adopted a procedure of their own unknown to the law. The Chief Court states accordingly that all the settlement operations have effected is a superior description of registration. But this is not all. It seemed that the settlement-officers, from compassion or compunction, did not in all cases degrade the occupancy tenant at once to a tenant at will. They allowed him a period of years, during which he was to retain his rights of occupancy. The Chief Court has decided that they had no power to do anything of the kind, and that in such cases the higher status must continue indefinitely. This decision of the Chief Court in the division of Umritsur alone affected no less than 22,000 cases. In one division there have been 46,000 rulings on rights to land, of which 22,000 are bad in law. We are threatened with an agrarian revolution, to be immediately followed by an agrarian counter-revolution.”¹

¹ *Gazette of India* (official), debate on Punjab Tenancy Bill, October 26th, 1868.

We have seen in a former chapter¹ the disastrous effect of the crude settlement made in Oude in 1856, which of itself shows how little dependence is to be placed upon the supposed guarantee afforded by the regulation of 1822, that the settlement-officers will confine themselves to a faithful record of existing rights. Mr. Strachey has shown, in the passages from his speech quoted in the former chapter, what terrible havoc the civilians of the North-West Provinces committed with existing rights under the shelter of this regulation. And the fate of the two original settlements in Oude and the Punjab will not inaptly illustrate the nature of this controversy.

It appears most strange, when we come to reflect upon it, that for near a century the ablest men the Indian services have produced have been at issue upon a question of fact. The differences that separate contending parties of politicians, the disputes between opposing schools of science, philosophy, and theology, are matters of principle. It is scarcely conceivable that for half a century statesmen should be at issue upon facts. Yet it has been the case in India, and it is so unique and singular a phenomenon as to suggest an inquiry into its cause. No Indian administrator has ever desired, or would ever advocate, any interference with existing rights in land. To discover what was the species of tenure under which land was held when a province first came under British rule has always been the aim and intention of every successive government. Inquiries were always conducted on the spot, and generally by picked men, often by the ablest and best officers that could be employed. Yet it would be impossible to state two conclusions more diverse and irreconcilable than those at which the highest authorities have, with seemingly the same data to go upon, arrived, on the subject of Indian land-tenure.

The inquiry dates back even to a period anterior to 1796, when Lord Cornwallis introduced the Permanent

¹ Chapter II.

Settlement of Bengal ; and in 1812, and again in 1832, an immense mass of most valuable evidence was recorded by the parliamentary committees that sat to investigate this point in both these years. We need not, however, dive into the depths of these bulky volumes for an instance in illustration of the singular error into which some of the highest authorities have fallen. It is now amply shown that the settlement of Oude in 1856, so far from recording existing rights, trampled them down on every side.

One would think, *à priori*, that it could not be possible for statesmen to be at issue for upwards of half a century upon the fact whether proprietary rights in lands belonged to the cultivator or to the superior landlord, zemindar, or talookdar, or raja, under whatever name he might happen to be specified in each different locality. Yet it is upon this point that the two schools of Indian politicians have been divided, one party contending that the cultivator held as tenant or tenant at will of the superior landlord ; the other that the landlord had no proprietary right at all in the soil—in short, that there was no such thing as a landlord in our sense of the word, but that the peasantry were peasant-proprietors under other designations. In Bengal the zemindar, who, it is pretty clear now, was originally merely an official collector of revenue for the Crown, has been recognised under the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis as landlord, and thus he was confirmed in rights which may be said to have been created for him by law. At that time the tendency clearly was to recognise rights in superior tenure, even to the extent of creating them when they were not previously in existence. When the territory known as the North-West Provinces came into our possession, the inclination was altogether the other way. Then the proprietary right was recognised as vested in village coparcenaries. No one can come into frequent contact with the transactions of Government in the first ten or fifteen years of our rule in the Upper Provinces without feeling that their most prominent feature was the systematic

setting aside of farmers and talookdars, and the admission of village proprietors to direct engagements.¹

This was the system often called, but erroneously so, the Thomasonian, for Messrs. Bird and Thomason, to whom the policy is popularly ascribed, acted merely as the executive, carrying out the policy of their superiors, and as channels to convey to subordinate officers the orders of the Supreme Government. But by whatever name it may be recognised, it was the system in vogue for many years, and formed the principle of revenue administration most warmly advocated by the school to which Sir John Lawrence was attached.

In Southern and Western India different principles prevailed. Throughout the greater part of Madras the normal state of the ryots is to hold immediately from the Crown; "and wherever he so holds without the intervention of any middleman, proprietary right is vested in the occupant of individual fields, or it has a tendency so to grow up, though often imperfectly, and shackled by special incidents."²

Throughout Bombay the tenure of land resembles that in Madras. There we mostly find villages with their municipal constitution complete, and their headman as their representative, who is called the "Potail." The entire cultivated area is owned by the ryots, each man's holding being his share. The same system prevails in Sind, and in the large tract of country called the assigned Berar district, belonging to the territory of the Nizam in the Deccan. And a tenure similar in its essentials was found to prevail generally over the southern and western portions of the continent.

How, then, it will be asked, did it come to pass that throughout this long period, from 1796 to 1868, the best authorities on Indian revenue questions have been at issue

¹ *Vide* Memorandum by Sir William Muir on the investigation into tenant right in Oude, in the Second Blue Book, 1867, Appendix II.

² *Ibid.*

upon facts? There are two or three considerations which it appears to me will serve to throw some light on the matter. We all know how utterly impossible it is for any living man, no matter how able he may be, to arrive at a fair, just, and discriminating decision on any single point, when he comes to a consideration of it with a bias one way or the other. Take the most ordinary question that may present itself to our mind for solution, and let there be a bias one way or the other, and how forcibly facts, arguments, premises, and conclusions dovetail themselves so as to suit that view to which the mind was previously inclined! It may be doubted if it is possible for any man to enter on the consideration of any question with a mind quite evenly balanced. The scale may be turned one way or the other during the course of the investigation, but a preponderance one way or the other there will be from the first. This is why in all judicial questions, where facts are in issue, the decision should be entrusted to more than a single judge. To do justice absolutely and perfectly, the mind must be perfectly evenly balanced. But justice is an attribute not of man, but of God, and nothing short of a perfect nature can possess or exercise the attributes of perfection. Hence it is that no inquiry which requires an even balance of mind to elicit a just conclusion ought to be conducted by one man. There must at least be two, for one mind cannot divide itself so as to provide within itself a counterpoise and check. It is not easy to imagine any field for inquiry where the mind would be more readily warped by a leaning one way or the other than the Indian land question. The more evenly balanced the evidence on both sides, the more liable is the conclusion to be influenced by preconceived ideas. In this case there was every danger not only of evidence being forced to lead to a preconceived conclusion, but of its being absolutely created in accordance with that conclusion. Take an instance, selected almost at random from the thousands that might be cited out of the voluminous mass of records from the days of Holt Mackenzie to

Muir, a sentence out of Sir John Lawrence's speech on the Punjab Tenancy Bill in 1868: "When the Jalandhur Dooab was being settled," he says, "I remember asking the Hill rajas, To whom did the land belong? With one voice they answered, 'To us, the rajas.' Then when I asked the same question of the dominant section of the villagers, they said that the land belonged to a particular class or caste in the village, the Rajpoots, Brahmins, and the like. The cultivators, lastly, would affirm that while the lands held by the village proprietors and the waste lands certainly belonged to those parties, the lands in possession of the cultivators also belonged to that class. The real explanation of all this is simply that the land as a rule exclusively belonged to no one class."

Now this is a most instructive passage, as illustrating the foregoing remarks. The reader here sees a field for inquiry, where a preconceived conclusion would be quite sure to find something to support it.

A settlement-officer with an idea of a landed aristocracy foremost in his mind, would here find undoubted testimony of such a tenure. Another, with his mind prepossessed in favour of the cultivator's right in the land, would here find the condition of things he anticipated. A third, with a strong feeling that if there were no cultivating occupancy rights there ought to be, would adopt exactly the conclusion which Sir John Lawrence adopted, "The land belongs to no one—here is a *tabula rasa*, with which we can do what we like."

It would probably be impossible to have found anywhere a single settlement-officer, or any one else, who could if he had tried have gone into the inquiry without a leaning one side or the other. And Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of Jalandhur, struck the key-note of the whole question in a remark quoted by Sir William Mansfield in the debate on the Punjab Tenancy Bill: "I have not given," he says, "my assent, . . . because I consider that a commission of some kind should be first appointed to ascertain the general

feelings and wants of the people *before we create new rights which tend to perpetuate a double property in the soil.*"

But it is often more difficult to destroy than to create. It may be too late now, except as a matter of historical research, to decide the question whether it was right or wrong to create these rights. Assuming, as many do, that the rights were created on the first settlement of the Punjab, the question is, having created them, what is to be done with them? Shall we destroy the work of our own hands? Shall we break up the existing state of things, and seek to make a *tabula rasa*, as Lord Canning did when he confiscated all rights in the soil of Oude, in order that he might obliterate for once and for ever, not the iniquity of the old Nawabate, but the iniquity of our own settlement made in 1856? There is undoubtedly much in Mr. Maine's argument, that even if these beneficial rights of occupancy were really planted in the Punjab by the British Government, they have grown up and borne fruit under its shelter, and that it is not for its honour or interest to give them up to ruthless destruction now.

When, however, we recollect how long this subject has been a disputed one; how for near a century the best authorities have been at issue upon essentials; how upon Sir John Lawrence's own showing there was so much room for doubt; how of all questions that could come before successive governments, this one requires the most delicate handling and the most indefatigable and impartial research; we cannot fail to see the force of Mr. Forsyth's recommendation, that before the views of a majority of the small body composing the Legislative Council were stereotyped in the rigid garb of law, a commission consisting of men of both schools should have been appointed to give to the long-disputed point the benefit of a careful and sifting investigation.

This brief outline of the main points involved in the land tenure controversy will, with what has been said above¹

¹ Chapter II.

regarding the previous policy in Oude, enable the reader to understand the position of the respective parties in the dispute about talookdary tenure and tenant right in Oude, which has formed so marked a feature in Sir John Lawrence's administration.

In the summary settlement made with the talookdars under Lord Canning's order, there was a reservation either expressed or implied that any adjudication of proprietary rights then made might be subject to revision at a future and more regular settlement.¹ Sir Robert Montgomery, however, declined to sanction that reservation, partly because it was deemed unfair to the talookdars, and partly because it was considered that the inquiry had been sufficiently complete to render any reinvestigation at a future time unnecessary. This settlement, it would appear, was made by the officers who conducted it under the belief that it was to be subject to future revision; nevertheless, after it had been completed, it was declared to be final. Subsequently to this, the talookdars, feeling not altogether secure in face of the leaning which our Government had of late years shown to a recognition of village proprietorship, begged that "sunnuds," or title-deeds, might be accorded them which should confirm them in their rights. These title-deeds were accordingly granted in October 1859, accompanied by a stipulation introduced by Lord Canning to the following effect:—"It is a condition of this grant that you will so far as is in your power promote the agricultural prosperity of your estate, and that all holding under you shall be secured in the possession of all the subordinate rights they formerly enjoyed."

In addition to this, and with a view of rendering his meaning still more clear, Lord Canning wrote as follows in a letter accompanying the "sunnuds:"—

"The 'sunnuds' declare that while on the one hand the Government has conferred on the talookdars and on their heirs for ever the sole proprietary rights in their

¹ *Calcutta Review*, Feb. 1868.

respective estates, subject only to the payment of the annual revenue that may be imposed from time to time, and to certain conditions of loyalty and good service; on the other hand, all persons holding an interest in the land, under the talookdars, will be secured in the possession of the subordinate rights which they have heretofore enjoyed.

“The meaning of this is, that where a regular settlement of the province is made, whenever it is found the zemindars or other persons have held an interest in the soil intermediate between the ryots and the talookdars, the amount in proportion payable by the intermediate holder to the talookdar, and the net ‘jumma’ (revenue) payable by the talookdar to the Government, will be fixed and recorded after careful and detailed survey and inquiry into each case, and will remain unchanged during the currency of the settlement.

“The talookdars cannot, with any show of reason, complain if the Government take effectual steps to re-establish or maintain in subordination to them the former rights, as these existed in 1855, of other persons whose connexion with the soil is, in many cases, more intimate and more ancient than theirs; and it is obvious that the only effectual protection which the Government can extend to these inferior holders is to define and record their rights, and to limit the demand of the talookdars as against such persons during the currency of the settlement to the amount fixed by the Government on the basis of its own revenue demand. What proportion of the rent shall be allowed in each case to zemindars and talookdars is a question to be determined at the time of settlement.”

It having been brought to the notice of Lord Elgin's Government that the rights of tenants, who held a somewhat higher status than that of mere tenants at will, were liable to be obliterated altogether from their being omitted from the settlement made, as well as from the fact that the talookdars themselves exercised certain

judicial powers, the Viceroy drew the attention of the Chief Commissioner of Oude to the position of this class, intimating a desire that they should be entered in the settlement papers, so that there might be some record extant of their existence.

The matter was in this position when Sir John Lawrence assumed the reins of government in 1864. The question, of all others, that was likely to interest him most, immediately attracted his attention, and he at once inquired what measures had been taken to preserve the rights of these tenants. He was informed in reply that no such rights as those referred to existed. Not satisfied with this the Viceroy directed further inquiry, and in order to secure its being conducted in a thorough and complete manner, appointed an officer upon whose co-operation he knew he could depend, Mr. Davies, Financial Commissioner; not, however, before the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Wingfield, had declined to carry out the investigation himself, feeling that it was in a measure a reversal of his policy, and inconsistent with the Report he had already made.

A full and searching inquiry then took place amid a storm of angry discussion in the papers, many of which pointed out that to institute for the second time a search after right of this kind was in India tantamount to offering a premium to fraud; for that if heretofore the rights had had no existence, as reported by Mr. Wingfield, the measure looked very like a determination, on Sir John Lawrence's part, to create them. Very much to the credit of the Oude peasantry, the investigation resulted in establishing the fact that such rights did not exist. The result was creditable to the Oude peasantry, because it might have been expected that they would have taken the opportunity of fraudulently setting up claims which it was clear the Supreme Government were then only too anxious to find established. What rights, or rather privileges, they did possess, were shown to be in reality no rights at all,

but privileges they enjoyed by favour of the landlord. These privileges the talookdars refused to convert into rights. What amount, or what kind, of pressure was brought to bear on them it is impossible to say, or whether the pressure was wholly imaginary on their part. Certain it is that they were in an excited state about it, and clamoured lustily that the British Government had committed a breach of faith; that the promise made by Lord Canning had been broken by his successors; and, as Mr. Strachey says, they appealed to the proclamation once so loudly condemned as an exceptionally harsh measure, as their *Magna Charta*.

Sir John Lawrence indeed, in Council, in July 1867, indignantly denied that any pressure had been put by him on the talookdars to induce them to agree to any terms they did not approve. But then his Excellency forgot that pressure may very easily be put upon people in the position of the talookdars without the direct authority or even knowledge of the Viceroy, when it is publicly known that he has identified himself with a particular party in a dispute.

It will be observed, that the class of tenants about whom all these dissensions had arisen were a class superior to the mere cultivators of the soil, who have been designated—and the term is not a very clear or intelligible one—sub-proprietors.

Both in the case of Oude and in that of the Punjab the breach has been patched up, and the long-continued controversy between the two schools of politicians plastered over by a compromise, to which in the former case the talookdars themselves were a party. The Bill which defines their rights and those of their tenants was not passed till the select committee reported that the talookdars were completely satisfied with the provisions of the Bill. Mr. Strachey, in the debate on the 22d July, stated that they had repeatedly declared that the Bill carried out faithfully all the engagements of the Government;

and they had also themselves confirmed to his Excellency in person the accuracy of this statement during the Viceroy's visit to Lucknow in November 1867. The essentials in this compromise were, on the part of the talookdars, an agreement to recognise the privileges of all cultivators who had been once proprietors of these lands, so that what they held by favour they should hereafter hold by right; on the part of the Government, that all the orders recognising a right of occupancy or preference in non-proprietary cultivators should be cancelled: while the important principle was established, that, under certain circumstances, tenants might claim compensation for unexhausted improvements.

The charge of over-hasty legislation occasionally brought against the Indian Government, and not without cause, cannot with justice be laid to their door in the case of the Oude Tenancy Bill. Both in that and the Punjab Tenancy Bill, indeed, the subject underwent deep and prolonged discussion, so far as such subjects can be discussed by means of official inquiries, recorded opinions, minutes, and the like. The Oude Bill, as we have seen, was not passed till the matter had been before the public for a whole year, and reference had been made to the Talookdars, and conferences held by them. They have, since the passing of the Bill, declared themselves dissatisfied, and have once again raised the cry of breach of faith against Sir John Lawrence's Government. And they persistently deny, what has been so positively asserted by Mr. Strachey, that they saw and approved of the draft of the Bill *as it now stands* before it was passed, and that it was not passed till they had given their assent to it.

With regard to the Punjab Tenancy Bill, much difference of opinion still exists, diametrically opposite accounts of what occurred at the debate having been published. Certain efforts were made, no doubt, to discover the views of the people through the medium of the Punjab officials, but the result of those efforts was negatived by the constitution of

the Council at the time the Bill was passed, which in the absence of Sir H. Durand left a majority on the side of the President. The draft of the Bill as it originally appeared was returned to Sir Donald McLeod, the Lieutenant-Governor, for reconstruction, and as a matter of course the two parties in the Punjab, one deprecating legislation at this period and the other advocating its interference as the only method of solving a great difficulty, expressed their respective views, which in the one case, for lack of valid support and efficient advocacy in Council, served little purpose besides recording an empty protest. But it is said that some very important papers bearing on the subject at issue had been received at Simla only a few days before the debate, and Sir William Mansfield, as the representative of the party opposed to the Bill, declared that they had not had time to read them. Mr. Cockerell, another opponent, pressed for a postponement, but Sir John Lawrence refused to accede to it, and after some sharp recrimination the Bill was passed through Council, Sir John Lawrence himself announcing a decided wish, equivalent in such a case to a command, that the Bill should become law that day.

Thus a Bill affecting the dearest interests of the whole population of an important province was passed in the face of a declaration from a very large body of experienced officials, that its provisions were ill calculated to secure the prosperity or contentment of the people. Nothing can show more effectually the defects of a machinery for legislation which can admit of such a procedure. It would be better to leave the Viceroy altogether unfettered, and force him to bear the whole responsibility of enactments passed in face of an opposition which, though ineffective, was entitled at any rate to a fair hearing.

It may appear to the English reader not a little strange that such a crisis as that which was put forward as justifying and necessitating the passing of this Bill should be allowed to arise in consequence of the procedure of officers who, it must be presumed, understood their work, or at any rate

were supervised by those who did, and who, especially in the Punjab, were known to be picked men. That there should be a difference of opinion as to the bearing of Regulation VII. of 1822—that throughout all this long period of time the essential point should never have been determined, whether or not the record of rights framed at the first settlement may be recast at the second—is indeed singular. But, as Mr. Maine remarks, “these older enactments were not intended to stand the test now applied to them; if they were carried out in a sense not intended by their framers, an executive order which in fact emanated from an authority identical in point of *personnel* with the Legislature corrected the error. But I believe, chiefly because the authors of the Regulation were great men and men of strong sense, that they intended nothing so preposterous as a periodical wholesale officious revision of the record.”¹

But the question will occur, how was it that these rights, recognised at the second settlement, were not put forward at the first? Why were rights allowed to remain dormant and claims to slumber for fifteen years, and then set up, when the difficulty of establishing them must have increased a hundredfold? The explanation is given by Sir John Lawrence. “Under the Sikh rule,” he says, “the position of the hereditary cultivators was practically very much on a par with that of the proprietors in the same village. And although the Sikhs in their social relations to each other set a high value on proprietary rights in land, more particularly when these were ancestral, their rulers acted very differently, and cared little who held or who cultivated these lands, provided that the revenue was punctually paid.”² When British rule supplanted the comparative state of anarchy which succeeded the death of Runjeet Singh, rights in land were practically of so little value that those who might have claimed them did not in all cases think it worth while to do so. Many may have thought they would obtain

¹ Debate on Punjab Bill, *Gazette of India*, Oct. 26th, 1868.

² *Gazette of India*, Oct. 26th, 1868.

easier terms if registered as hereditary cultivators instead of proprietors. "As years passed by," says Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of Jalandhur, "the people, ignorant and careless, continued in their old way, taking no heed, and probably unconscious of the" [effect of] "the erroneous entries. But now, as lapse of time gives a validity to titles otherwise untenable, we are frequently assailed by petitions to correct alleged errors." Another cause for the *insouciance* of the Punjab proprietors may be found in a doubt as to the permanency of our then newly-acquired dominion. As time went on, and they saw the British Government more and more firmly seated on the throne of the Moguls, this feeling would wear away ; and as land rose in value, as it does rise every year in India, rights that at first were thought little of became too precious to be neglected any longer. And here the question will at once present itself to the reader's mind, how far are men entitled to a resuscitation of rights which they have allowed to remain dormant, either from neglect or a want of faith in the permanency of our rule, or because these rights were at first worth nothing, though they have since acquired value ? Sir John Lawrence was of opinion that legislation on the subject was imperatively called for. It was not likely that his successor, or any successor who might follow him, would be able to bring to the consideration of the subject the vast information and experience which he undoubtedly possesses. It is to be regretted that the matter did not engage his attention at an earlier period of his five years' tenure of office, when there would have been time to have appointed a committee of inquiry composed of settlement-officers of both schools, who by a careful and searching investigation might have satisfactorily cleared up the difficulty. Still some concessions have been made even in the Punjab Tenancy Bill to the representatives of the old aristocracy, but not sufficient, it is to be feared, to allay discontent. As regards Oude, it is the general impression among those friendly to the cause of the talookdars that their interests have gained rather

than lost by the recent enactments, their result being to confirm them in their rights and privileges, and to protect them from any encroachments on the part of the ex-proprietary tenants. Both Bills are shorn of many of the more obnoxious and mischievous provisions of Act X. of 1859, the Rent Law in force in the older provinces. And both in the Punjab and in Oude it is to be hoped that the people will accommodate themselves to the conditions fixed by the Legislature, and that those whose interests are injuriously affected by the new laws will set against that the many palpable advantages which they derive from British rule, without which the rights in land now so highly esteemed would have been valueless whoever retained them.

The affairs of the Bank of Bombay continued to occupy a great share of public attention during 1868; indeed in the Western Presidency itself they may be said almost to have monopolized it. This disgraceful episode in Indian history has been briefly noticed in another chapter. It is only necessary to add here that during the year the new bank was opened with a capital of twenty-five lacs as a temporary arrangement, the old bank being put in liquidation. In May a commission was appointed under orders from home, consisting of Sir C. Jackson, Major McLeod Innes, R.E.V.C., and Mr. Maxwell Melville, of the Bombay Civil Service. They commenced their inquiry at Bombay on the 29th June, and concluded it, so far as the Indian evidence was concerned, on the 9th September. On the 25th they left for Europe, to continue the investigation there, several witnesses having to be examined in England. The evidence taken in India was such as to astonish all who heard or read it. In the history of bank failures, and careless, amounting to dishonest, management, it is to be feared that the episode of the Bank of Bombay will occupy a prominent position.

The administration of Sir John Lawrence has been marked by very considerable progress in public works of utility and permanence, which are destined to contribute

much towards the stability of our Indian Empire. One of the results of the great rebellion of 1857 was the recognition of the necessity for providing better and more extensive barrack accommodation for our European troops, and fortresses and posts of defence in localities important in a strategic point of view. These "military works," as they are sometimes called, were sketched out as far back as 1862-63, on a scale that was calculated to entail an expenditure of 10,000,000*l.* sterling. At the same time designs for irrigation works were added to the extent of 30,000,000*l.* more. We have seen in a previous chapter that the efforts of the Government to carry out irrigation works are necessarily limited by the extent of the means available—money and supervision. But the principle has now been fully admitted that the expenses of reproductive public works, such as canals and railways, may fairly be saddled upon posterity, and for the future the necessary funds for constructions of this nature will be raised by loans. In addition to the designs for irrigation works, on which 30,000,000*l.* are to be spent, there is a scheme for railway extension throughout India, generally calculated to cost 40,000,000*l.* more, so that the whole outlay which it is proposed to devote to these purposes amounts to no less than 80,000,000*l.* At the close of this year it is calculated that 5,000,000*l.*, or just one-half of the sum devoted to barracks and fortifications, will have been disbursed; the remainder will have been expended and the designs completed in 1872, after which it is proposed to devote the whole energies and resources of the department to those reproductive works upon which the wealth and progress of the country mainly depend. It is no doubt a wise policy to secure our hold upon India before proceeding with the investment of the enormous sums of money which it is intended to raise for the extension of railways and canals. The style of barrack which has been recently adopted is a vast improvement upon the old low thatched buildings in which our soldiers have been housed for the last half-century. In the minor

Presidencies these buildings have been commenced at Kirkee and Bangalore, but the main effort has naturally been confined to the Bengal Presidency, throughout which, in almost all the important cantonments, very considerable progress has been made. Altogether, six and three-quarters out of the whole ten millions are to be spent on the Bengal Presidency, the remainder being divided between the two minor presidencies of Bombay and Madras.

Fortified posts, consisting of an enclosure flanked by bastions and containing hospitals and barracks, are to be erected at Sealkote, Jalandhur, and Umballa, in the Punjab; at Nowgong, in Central India; and Secundrabad, the military cantonment adjoining Hyderabad, in the Deccan; while at Peshawur a fortress on a more extended scale is being erected, to be supported by two others at Mooltan and Rawul Pindee. These fortresses will contain barracks for troops and protection for large arsenals.

Allusion has been made in a previous chapter to the slender extent to which the British Government has hitherto availed itself of the means within its reach of quartering soldiers in healthy situations in the hills, and it is a question whether it would not have been a wiser policy to have expended the money now laid out in the expensive barracks under construction, in carrying lines of railway to the foot of the mountain ranges, and locating the soldiers on their summits and slopes, where they might be kept in a condition of the utmost possible physical efficiency, and at the same time be within easy distance by rail of almost every part of the country where their presence is ever likely to be required to quell an *émeute* or resist aggression.

While about seven millions sterling have been or are to be expended in the construction of better accommodation for soldiers in the plains, but few hill-garrisons have been added to the scanty number already available as depôts for invalids.

The most superficial acquaintance with India is sufficient to show that the only danger to which our empire in the

East is at all likely to be exposed—except, of course, from internal disaffection, which need not of itself be feared so long as a European garrison of the present strength is maintained—lies in the chance of invasion from the north and north-west. Nor is there any danger here, except from a European power. I have purposely avoided entering on the much-debated question of Central Asian policy; but so long as ordinary prudence and foresight guide the counsels of our rulers, no rash attempt to provoke or accelerate a conflict by putting ourselves in a false position will ever endanger the safety of British India. No more unsound policy was ever advocated than that of interfering with the affairs of Affghanistan with the view of strengthening our hold upon India, or—as it is the fashion to express it—to meet Russia on the Oxus now in order that we may not have to meet her on the Indus hereafter. If ever the two Powers are destined to come into hostile contact in Asia, it is sufficiently obvious that that Power will fight at a disadvantage which is the furthest removed from its resources. To go to the Oxus, therefore, to meet Russia, would be to abandon in her favour an advantage we now hold. Every hundred miles that we march northwards to meet the invader will be so much gain to him and loss to us. And as to immediate interference with Affghanistan, while it is certain that the possession or the military occupation of that country, at any rate, must precede any attempt by Russia upon the Indian frontier, it is clear that whichever of the two—England or Russia—first occupies Cabul will be exposed, in the event of war, to the danger of internal disaffection aided by all the resources of the rival European power. In case of our interfering with Affghan politics again, let it be for the purpose of delivering or aiding the people to deliver themselves from the hated yoke of the foreigner. If Russia has any definite designs upon India, those writers and politicians are her best allies who advocate British interference with Affghan affairs. Should Russia attack

us, let it be on our ground, not hers; upon the banks of the Indus, the point the furthest removed from her resources and nearest to our own. With good railway communication between Kurrachee and Peshawur—and on strategic grounds this line ought to be completed without delay by the extension of the lines from Kotree on the Indus to Mooltan, and from Lahore to Peshawur—the field of action would be far nearer the fountain-head of our resources than that of our rival: while, with her communications to keep up between the Caspian Sea and the Hindoo Koosh, through a country peopled by turbulent races, held in subjection at the best of times with difficulty and not without great expenditure of means—any break in which line of communications would be fatal to her—Russia must be indeed bent on her own destruction if she ventures to assail our position on the Indus within the next century.

It remains to notice very briefly two great public works, the one wholly, and the other partially, dependent for its success on private enterprise. On the 15th November, the section of the Delhi railway connecting Delhi and the East Indian line with Umballa, a city thirty-five miles from the foot of the Himalayas, on the high road to Simla, was completed and opened with much *éclat*, the Viceroy himself being present at a great public breakfast. As many as 500 or 600 guests assembled to do honour to the occasion, which was especially interesting as being the last opportunity that offered itself for Sir John Lawrence's old Punjab associates to gather round their chief on the eve of his departure. And, viewed in this light, some of the speeches made on the occasion are almost worthy of a place in history. Sir John Lawrence, in returning thanks, alluded with much feeling—his voice faltering with ill-disguised emotion—to his brother Sir Henry, and the other distinguished men with whom he had been so long connected. The section of the line then opened is especially valuable, because it connects Calcutta and the intermediate cities by rail (an interval of thirty-five miles only,

at the foot of the mountains, intervening) with the hill-settlements of Kussowlie, Dugshai, Subathoo, and Simla.

No such *éclat* has attended the other public work alluded to, the East Indian Irrigation scheme, designed to construct an extensive canal system in Orissa. At the close of 1868 it was finally determined to abandon this scheme so far as it is a work of private enterprise, and to make it over to the Government. It would be tedious and uninteresting to trace the causes which have led to these results. Suffice it to say that the company declares the main cause to be the want of encouragement afforded by Government. Whether there is any real ground for this allegation or not—and it is not very easy to see how, if the company were in a position to carry on their work to completion, it could have been affected either by official encouragement or the reverse—the result is lamentable, as showing how, with the best prospects of success, with great resources and long-sustained efforts, the attempt to carry out the scheme by independent capital has failed. The shareholders will suffer no loss, for the Government undertakes to purchase the works for a sum equal to the whole paid-up capital, with five per cent. interest, and a bonus of 50,000*l.* besides.

Before the year 1868 had quite ended, Earl Mayo landed at Bombay, and Sir John Lawrence prepared to make over to his successor the cares of office. In any estimate that is formed of Sir John Lawrence's character as a public man, his career previous to his elevation to the Viceroyship, and that subsequent to it, should be ever carefully distinguished. There are many who think that his name would have held a higher place in the estimation of posterity had he not been called upon to assume the government of India. It is certain, however, that his policy as Viceroy was conducted on the same principles as those on which he acted as Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. Whether that policy is to be approved or condemned, will depend upon the view which those who criticise or review

his public career hold upon the subject of Indian land-tenures. No reputation is so dear to the Bengal civilian of the old school, to which Sir John essentially belonged, as that of success in revenue administration. This principle is plainly marked throughout the whole system of Indian government. In every single instance all other branches of the administration are subordinated to the revenue. A young civilian who acquires a reputation as an efficient collector or subordinate revenue officer is sure of a rapid promotion, which no legal attainments, no diplomatic ability, no talent for organization, no genius for executive, magisterial, and police work, however brilliant, can ensure. After the grade of collector has been reached, or that which is equivalent to it, though it may be called by different names in different parts of India, an efficient officer is promoted in the revenue branch to a commissionership; an inefficient, or an indolent, or incompetent one is made a judge. And there can be no doubt that Sir John Lawrence, in taking on himself to settle the two most important revenue questions of the day, the land tenure in Oude and the Punjab—though I do not mean that he was actuated solely, or even mainly, by so low a motive—aimed at that which is calculated more than anything else to stimulate the ambition of a civilian, the reputation of being a great revenue authority. Beyond these two measures, he cannot be said to have initiated and carried through any policy peculiarly his own. During his tenure of office, the country happily enjoyed almost perfect immunity from those political troubles which usually monopolize the attention of the writer or the student of Indian history. That much of this immunity is due to the weight of his name, and the awe in which he is held by all natives of India, as well the independent sovereigns of Hindustan as the rulers of surrounding states, no one who is acquainted with the general feelings of the people can doubt. When he was first appointed, there was a general ferment of disaffection at work under the surface

of Mahommedan society, which might very possibly have been developed into overt acts of insubordination. The moment he landed it ceased; or at all events, if it went on at all, it went on so silently as to escape notice. And were the same thing to recur, were even organized disaffection to show itself, so much is Sir John Lawrence feared all over India, that his return to the country would of itself intimidate the conspirators into an abandonment of their design—provided, of course, they were not acting under any external political influence. The Bhotan *imbroglio* was a legacy left him by his predecessor. Under Sir John's administration the unhappy business was brought to as speedy and satisfactory a conclusion as was possible. The only other warlike operation he had to conduct was the Black Mountain campaign. The policy in this campaign, as well as on the frontier generally, acquired for him much unpopularity. That policy has been discussed elsewhere: here it is sufficient to say, that future history will approve of it as sound and statesmanlike. The interest Sir John Lawrence has always taken in the welfare of the European soldier has also elsewhere been noticed; indeed that class of his countrymen shared with the members of his own service the regard which seemed to be denied to every other section of the European community. As to the non-official portion of that community, Sir John scarce took the pains to disguise the sentiments which are engrained in every civilian of the old school, and in too many of the new—a tendency to discourage European enterprise, and to make English residents in India feel that they are in a false position there. With every mile of railway that is constructed in India there is a proportionate increase of the European element, whether in the shape of capital, of skilled labour, or of executive control. This is the secret of the obstacles which independent chiefs invariably throw in the way of railway extension through their territories. Nor can it be wondered at, for the class of Englishmen with whom the railway brings them and their subjects into

contact is just the class which the native of India holds in the utmost dread and abhorrence. In this feeling the civilian sympathises to a degree that is actually ludicrous. And the majority of them (possibly Sir John himself, could he be brought to confess his real feelings) would aver that the enormous advantage which railways are conferring upon India, and the rapid reformation which they are working out in the habits and character of the natives, is but dearly purchased by the introduction into the country of so many Englishmen. For a long while Sir John successfully opposed the extension of railways in Upper India, and only yielded at last under pressure to sanction the Lahore and Peshawur line, a line which but for his opposition would have been far advanced towards completion by this time, and which when completed will add the strength of fifty thousand men to our northern frontier.

From the non-official European population Sir John could scarcely have looked for popularity. By his own service, whose interests he keenly watched, he was undeservedly disliked. The feeling is unaccountable except on the score of jealousy, for his warmest eulogists will not deny that the Civil Service derived to the fullest extent the benefits a close corporation might expect from one of their own number being raised to the post of authority and endowed with the enormous patronage that falls to the lot of an Indian Viceroy. By the native aristocracy, with whom as a class Sir John had little sympathy, he was detested; not with the passive dislike of Oriental temperament, but with an actual hate, the more intense because accompanied by fear. By the cultivator class, for whom he did or intended to do so much, he was not known, nor have they yet learnt to value the privileges and rights he struggled to obtain, and did obtain, for them. Among the mass of the Anglo-Indian community, which consists chiefly of military men, officers of various branches and departments, and their families, he was unpopular; but this arose mainly from his

manner and behaviour to them when guests at Government House, or waiting on the dreary ceremonial of an Indian Viceregal levee.

If unpopularity be the test of the success or failure of an Indian Viceroy, there can be no doubt as to the judgment that history must pass on Sir John Lawrence's viceregal career. But there is probably no position in the world where popularity is less the test of success, or where a ruler, if he chooses to disregard public opinion, can do so with more complete impunity. The Indian Government is a despotic one, as despotic as that of Russia, more so than that of France. An official, in a recent debate in Council, not incorrectly described it as a despotism tempered by right of petition, which means a despotism pure and simple. In Russia or in France the will of the ruling power is a good deal under the influence of public opinion; but the despotism of the Indian Government is only tempered by the action of the Secretary of State, who may be, but very seldom is, swayed by public opinion in England. It is this that makes English residents in India so dissatisfied with the system. They go out there carrying with them their favourite notions of constitutional government and political freedom, and imagine that in a dependency of the British Crown they are to enjoy all the rights and privileges of their native land. They very soon find out their mistake, the right even of trial by jury of their countrymen being denied to them; but they never cease to chafe against the iron collar of despotic rule, so distasteful to every man that has once lived under a representative constitution. To administer successfully such a government as this, so long as it is what it is, there is obviously no necessity to canvass popularity. A despot with an iron will, a long head, and no heart, will be found the best man for the post. I use the word "despot" in no bad sense. There may be good and conscientious despots, as well as wicked ones, and Sir John Lawrence essentially belonged to the first, not the last. As he said in his fare-

well speech at Calcutta, he had laboured conscientiously before God and man to do his duty, and so no doubt he had, and he carried away from the shores of India the consciousness of having exerted himself to the utmost to do what he thought right. But he was none the less a despot, and as such eminently suited for the government of India as it is. Were that dependency endangered to-morrow, either by political disturbance within, or threatenings from without, or both, Sir John's presence in India would be worth an army. If England's object is simply to hold the country, a Viceroy of Sir John Lawrence's stamp is the best man for the post; if her object is progress—the moral and social elevation of the people—if it is her wish to encourage trade and promote commerce, to introduce European capital, and by the example of European to awaken and stimulate native enterprise, to instil into the native mind some idea of those political principles which have made England what she is, then she must select her Viceroys and her Governors from some other quarter than the ranks of the Civil Service.

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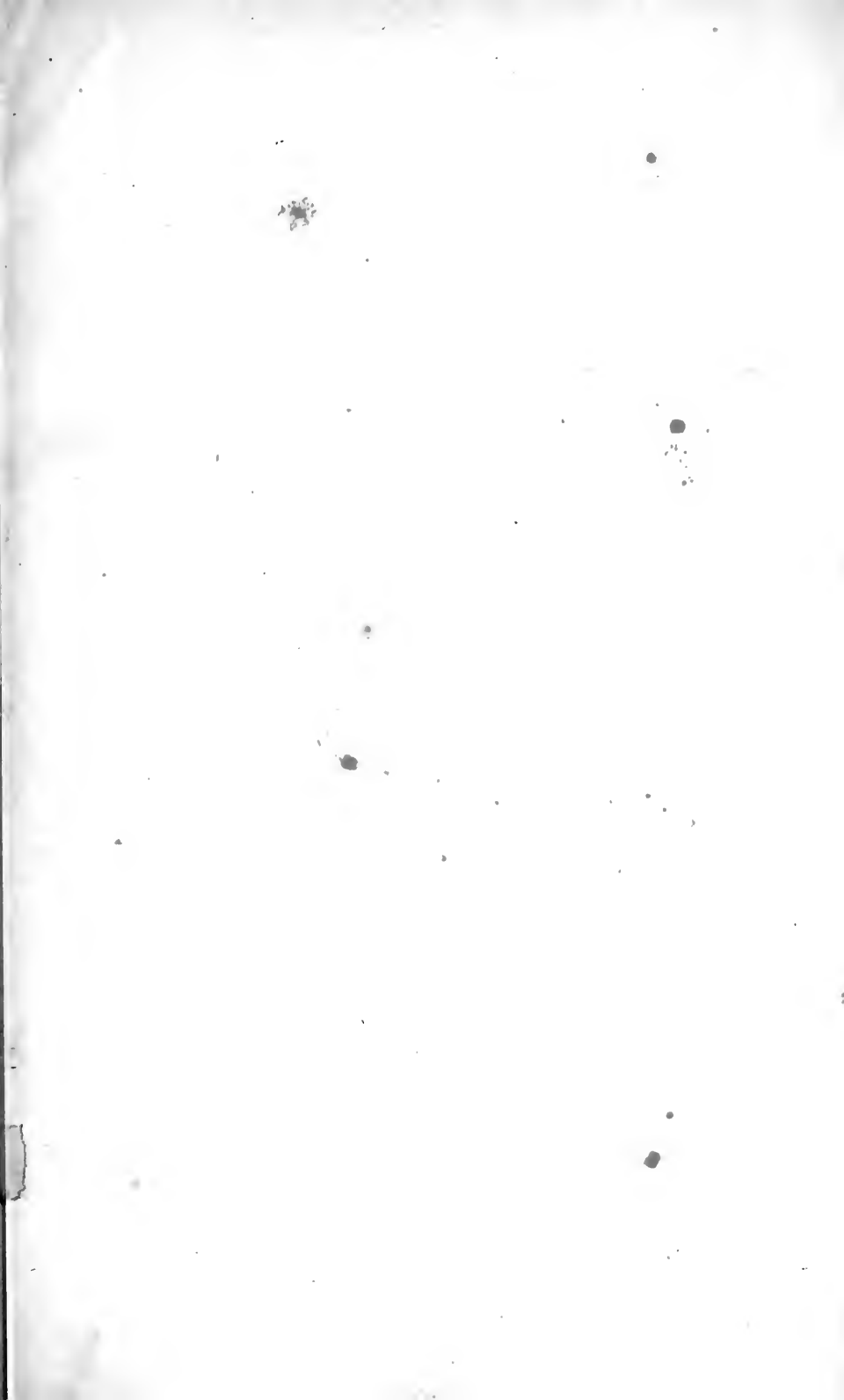
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